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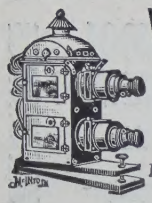

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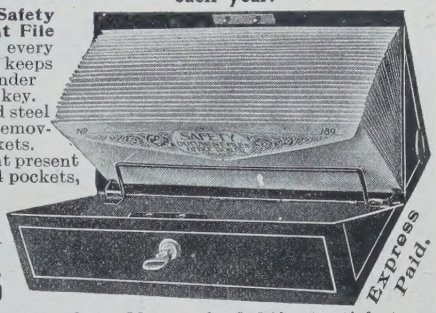


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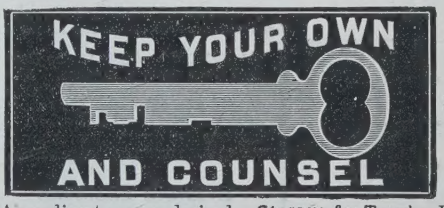


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# THE RELIGION OF GREECE.

BY

ARTHUR FAIRBANKS, Ph.D., Instructor of Comparative Religion, Yale University.

## 1. THE GODS OF HOMER.

GREEK poets and Greek artists depict the birth of *Athena* as she sprang forth, a goddess in full armor, from the head of her father *Zeus*. So Greek civilization bursts on our view with a high degree of beauty and completeness in the epic. Of the beginnings of Greek religion some very crude idols from tombs remain as witnesses; some strange stories were still told of the gods in later days, and they were worshiped here and there with practices akin to the rites of barbaric races. Our earliest account of Greek religion, however, must be derived from the Homeric poems. (1) The epic was never the possession of a single local tribe, and its world of the gods included mainly those beings which were generally worshiped among the different Greek tribes, so that, although the epic probably received its form in the Ionian colonies of Asia Minor, its religious side is not purely Ionian. The epic was composed to be sung at the banquet and on festal occasions, so that its tone was not really serious; the less serious because the Ionians preferred to look on the gayer, lighter side of life. So in studying the epic to learn about Greek religion, we must not forget that it is poetry written to please a people fond of pleasure, and that it selects material to appeal to a wide audience.

The gods of Homer gather about *Zeus*, the "father of gods and men." *Zeus* is often a very human god. He is deceived by *Hera*, angry because *Poseidon* has the better of him for a time, very susceptible to the passion of love, laughing on Olympos as he sees the gods going down to battle with each other on the Trojan plain. (2) Still he is represented as apart from the world of men; he never goes down to the battle-field in person, but accomplishes his will through the other gods as his agents. His might exceeds the combined strength of all the other gods; all that he does has a certain grandeur; the presence of a higher justice makes his rule beneficent, and the weak are under his especial protection. The *Zeus* of the Iliad remained for the Greek mind the ideal of divine power and majesty.(3)—*Hera*, his queen, appears in two aspects. At one time she is the jealous wife, plotting against her lord and seeking to attain her own ends against his will; again, she is truly the queen, who fittingly presides over the court of the gods on Olympos by the side of *Zeus*.—*Athena* is closely associated with *Hera* in her interest in the Greeks before Troy. She is the goddess of war, arming herself with the very armor of *Zeus*, and eager to join battle against the Trojans, even against her father's will. At the same time she is the patron of the peaceful arts, of weaving, and of cunning work in wood and metal. In

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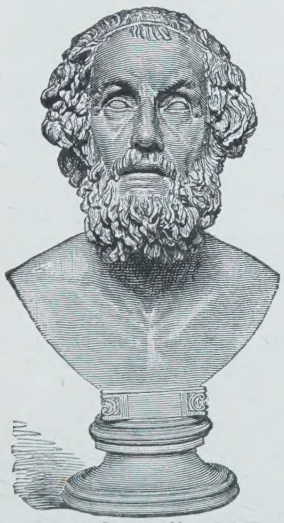
the Odyssey she is the special patron of Odysseus, and procures his safe return. —*Apollo* and *Artemis* are on the Trojan side.—*Apollo*, the archer-god, true son of *Zeus*, who works his father's will, his temple-home on the acropolis of Troy, is a real divinity in much of the poem; while *Artemis*, the huntress, is hardly more than a shadow of *Apollo*. (4) Other gods complete the council which gathers on "many-ridged Olympos": *Ares*, the impetuous god of war, and the tender *Aphrodite* with charms of love; *Hephaistos*, the lame smith; *Hermes*, the trusted messenger of *Zeus*, and *Hebe*, *Hera's* daughter. A mighty god rules the sea, *Poseidon*, the brother of *Zeus;* and beneath the earth is the dread realm of souls, the home of *Hades*, with *Persephone* as its queen. These greater gods constitute one family, which (at least in the later period of the poems) is traced back to *Kronos*. In the epic, however, more stress is laid on the fact that the gods constitute a council gathering in the palace of *Zeus*, just as a council of princes gathers in the palace of Menelaos at Sparta, or in that of Alkinoos among the Phaeacians. Sung at human courts, the epic finds in its audience the key to the relations of the gods. While each god has certain functions which are not forgotten—*Apollo* the archer, *Hephaistos* the smith, *Aphrodite* the goddess of love, etc.—these functions are not specially emphasized, and the gods are primarily princes of the Olympian court.



Ideal Bust of Homer.

## 1. THE GODS OF HOMER.

(1) **Hesiod and Homer.**—And they (Hesiod and Homer) created a theogony for the Greek, and gave the gods epithets, and distinguished both their honors and their functions, and indicated their forms.—"*Herodotus.*" *II., p. 53.*

(2) **Human Traits in Zeus.**—"Hearken to me, all gods and all ye goddesses, that I may tell you what my heart within my breast commandeth me. One thing let none essay, be it goddess or be it god, to-wit, to thwart my saying; approve ye it all together that with all speed I may accomplish these things. Whomsoever I shall perceive minded to go, apart from the gods, to succor Trojans or Danaans, chastened in no seemly wise shall he return to Olympus, or I will take and cast him into misty Tartaros, right far away, where is the deepest gulf beneath the earth; there are the gate of iron and threshold of bronze, as far beneath Hades as heaven is high above the earth: then shall he know how far I am mightiest of all gods. Go to now, ye gods, make trial that ye all may know. Fasten ye a rope of gold from heaven, and all ye gods lay hold thereof and all goddesses; yet could ye not drag from heaven to earth Zeus, counsellor supreme, not though ye toiled sore. But once I likewise were minded to draw with all my heart, then should I draw you up with very earth and sea withal. Thereafter would I bind the rope about a pinnacle of Olympus, and so should all those things be hung in air. By so much am I beyond gods and beyond men."—"*The Iliad of Homer,*" *pp. 143-4.*

So when the rage of Xanthos was overcome, both ceased, for Hera stayed them, though in wrath. But among the other gods fell grievous bitter strife, and their hearts were carried diverse in their breasts. And they clashed together with a great noise, and the wide earth groaned, and the clarion of great Heaven rang around. Zeus heard as he sate upon Olympus, and his heart within him laughed pleasantly when he beheld that strife of gods.—*Ibid, p. 426.*

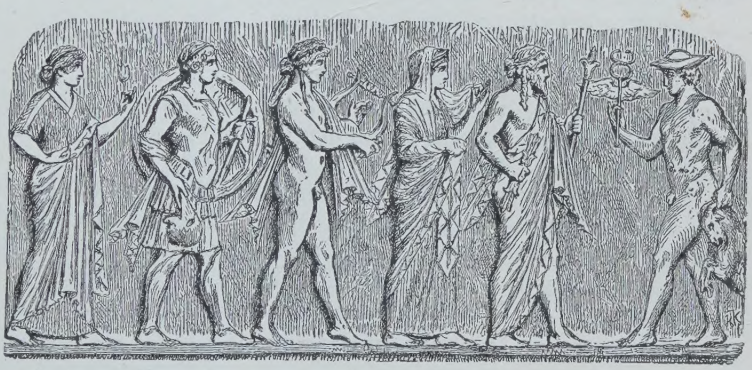
(3) **Ideal Traits in Zeus.**—Yet, behind the complex and ever-active theotechnic machinery of the poem, there is still the presence and operation of an august personage, who has regard to piety wherever it is found, and who works incessantly, effectively, and without noise for the permanent ends of justice among men, which were signally wrought out by the punishment and fall of guilty Troy. That figure is no other than Zeus in his higher capacity. He loved Troy for its abundant sacrifices; but his higher character forbade his acting to avert its doom. In the *Iliad* mainly, in the *Odyssey* entirely, his will is worked out by other divine agents, themselves exercising their personal freedom, but bringing about the purposes of a counsel higher and larger than their own. This counsel has its background and its ultimate root in pure deity, and for pure deity Zeus is often a synonym in Homer.—*Gladstone, W. E., "Homer," p. 67.*

(4) **Apollo.**—So spake he in prayer, and Phoebus Apollo heard him, and came down from the peaks of Olympus wroth at heart, bearing on his shoulders his bow and covered quiver. And the arrows clanged upon his shoulders in his wrath, as the god moved; and he descended like to night. Then he sate him aloof from the ships, and let an arrow fly; and there was heard a dread clanging of the silver bow. First did he assail the mules and fleet dogs, but afterward, aiming at the men his piercing dart, he smote; and the pyres of the dead burnt continually in multitude.—*Ibid, p. 2.*

## 2. THE NATURE OF THE EPIC GODS.

It is of great importance to form a correct idea of the nature of the gods as they are pictured in the epic, not because this is necessarily a correct representation of popular belief at a given place and a given time, but because Homer was the universal text-book in the schools of later Greece. The Bible was no more familiar a book in the Puritan household than was Homer to every Greek boy. It was the *one* book used in every school. Consequently later ideas of religion and of the gods took form in the form of the epic.

We may define the gods of Homer as immortal beings, not visible to men, but worshiped by them as the source of blessing and of evil; their life was free from difficulty and full of pleasure; their home was on Olympos, and from there they descended to direct the course of events among men. It has been customary to interpret the Greek gods (solely) as personifications of natural phenomena. It is true that the rivers and the winds are personified as Divine beings; *Iris*, the rainbow, is fittingly the messenger between gods and men, *Demeter* is the "Mother Earth," who yields the grain, and once, in Homer, *Hephaistos* is used to mean "Fire." Probably *Zeus* was once the heavens themselves, but in Homer there is little except his epithets to remind the reader of this fact. *Apollo*, on the other hand, was apparently not associated with the sun till a comparatively late date, nor was *Athena* ever the storm-cloud. In most instances it is futile to seek for the origin of the Greek gods in the data now accessible to us. When we meet them in the Epic, everything about the gods is cast in human moulds; their passions and purposes, their modes of thought and feeling are human; consequently they are to be defined with reference to men.



Relief from Greek Altar (Aphrodite, Ares, Apollo, Hera, Zeus and Hermês.)

*Physically*, the gods live in homes built by the smith-god *Hephaistos;* they sleep and wake and eat and journey like men, only they are more perfect and more powerful; their speed is far beyond man's; their strife far more terrible than human battle; they accomplish their will far more easily than man. *Zeus* alone does not descend to mingle with men; but it is only in certain parts of the poems (*e.g.*, Iliad, XV.) that *Zeus* or *Athena* directly effect some purpose where they are not themselves present. *Mentally* the gods are far wiser than men and can perceive from a far greater distance; they can even have some knowledge of the future. But practically they are not omniscient, even though they are occasionally said to know all things. *Zeus* is deceived by Hera, and every god must pay careful attention to what is going on and study how to fulfil his purposes. *Morally* they show a righteous anger toward the wicked, and stand on the side of right and piety among men. They pity their favorites and care for them. But they are capricious even in granting prayers of men, still more capricious in their relations with each other. The boasts, taunts, and threats, the envy, the anger, the self-esteem, the passions and deceit and trickery of a human court, are all transferred to the gods and become the more marked as the gods are more powerful than men. (1) On the one hand the gods are persons with all human frailties and vices, but at the same time they are

the righteous rulers of the world; the contradiction could hardly be so marked except in a poem.

On this world of the gods depends all that happens among men: "All things are from *Zeus*" (Iliad, XIII., 632). For the *poet* all that happens in the battle or on a journey is indifferently the act of a man or the act of a god. The man is carrying out his own plans, but the poet represents his acts as at the same time carrying out the plan of a god. So human excellencies are in reality "gifts," and one hero tells his companion that he should not boast of his cunning, his strength, his beauty, since these are only his because a god has given them to him. This dependence on the gods the epic hero only feels when he is made conscious of his own weakness, and commonly he acts as if he were absolutely independent. He prays for divine help only in time of special need or calamity; *i.e.*, he acts as if independent, but as if the gods were likely at any time to interfere in a way on which he cannot reckon. (2) Theoretically all things are directed by the gods; practically for the hero in the poems, what is beyond his own control is directed by the gods.

In order to understand the relation of the gods to *moira* (fate) it is necessary to consider the idea of fate in human life. What befalls man is his fate. Evil comes, and he shirks the responsibility for it; it is his *portion* (*moira*). What man ought to do is also assigned to him, his portion. The poetic-religious belief in "portions" or fate was, like so many other features of human life, transferred to the gods. (3) They, like men, were subject to a fate including things they could not avoid, and things they ought or ought not to do. This naive view of the gods as under a fate like that of men was most natural in its origin, but it was the starting-point of a problem in theology very difficult for later ages to solve.

In the later history of Greek religion the views of the gods gradually approached the conception set forth in the epic. The gods continued to be human beings, though elevated to the heavens, and a more spiritual conception was possible only by undermining the whole fabric of the old religion.

## 2. THE NATURE OF THE EPIC GODS.

(1) **The Olympian Court.**—All the gods in company arose from their seats before their father's face; neither ventured any to await his coming, but they stood up all before him. So he sate him there upon his throne; but Hera saw, and was not ignorant how that the daughter of the Ancient of the sea, Thetis the silver-footed, had devised counsel with him. Anon with taunting words spake she to Zeus the son of Kronos: "Now who among the gods, thou crafty of mind, hath devised counsel with thee? It is ever thy good pleasure to hold aloof from me and in secret meditation to give thy judgments, nor of thine own good will hast thou ever brought thyself to declare unto me the thing thou purposest."

Then the father of gods and men made answer to her: "Hera, think not thou to know all my sayings; hard they are for thee, even though thou art my wife. But whichsoever it is seemly for thee to hear, none sooner than thou shall know, be he god or man. Only when I will to take thought aloof from the gods, then do not thou ask of every matter nor make question."—"*The Iliad of Homer*," *p. 18.*

(2) **Prayers of Penitence.**—Nay, even the very gods can bend, and theirs withal is loftier majesty and honor and might. Their hearts by incense and reverent vows and drink-offering and burnt-offering men turn with prayer, so oft as any transgresseth and doeth sin. Moreover Prayers of Penitence are daughters of great Zeus, halting and wrinkled and of eyes askance, that have their task withal to go in the steps of Sin. For Sin is strong and fleet of foot, wherefore she far outrunneth all Prayers, and goeth before them over all the earth making men fall, and Prayers follow behind to heal the harm. Now whosoever reverenceth Zeus' daughters when they draw near, him they greatly bless and hear his petitions; but when one denieth them and stiffly refuseth, then depart they and make prayer unto Zeus the son of Kronos that sin may come upon such an one, that he may fall and pay the price.—*Ibid, p. 176.*

(3) **Fate Recognized by the Gods.**—And beholding then the son of Kronos of the crooked counsels took pity on them, and he spake to Hera, his sister and wife: "Ah, woe is me for that it is fated that Sarpedon, the best-beloved of men to me, shall be subdued unto Patroklos son of Menoitios. And in two ways my heart within my breast is divided; as I ponder whether I shall catch him up alive out of the tearful war, and set him down in the rich land of Lykia, or whether I should now subdue him beneath the hands of the son of Menoitios."

Then the ox-eyed lady Hera made answer to him: "Most dread son of Kronos, what word is this thou hast spoken? A mortal man long doomed to fate dost thou desire to deliver again from death of evil name? Work thy will, but all we other gods will in no wise praise thee."—*Ibid, pp. 327-8.*

## 3. ZEUS AND HERA.

The epic picture of the gods as divine heroes who mingled in human affairs, though on a higher plane than men, has little or no suggestion of religious aspiration; and they whose ideas of Greek religion are drawn from epic mythology can but wonder how a people should worship such divinities. An examination of Greek worship shows at once that the gods of Homer are merely poetic pictures which do not represent literally the gods of local cults. In each locality one particular phase of the god is worshiped: *Zeus Olympios* in Thessaly, at Athens, and at Olympia in Elis; *Zeus Phyxios* at Argos and in Thessaly, *Zeus Idaios* in Crete, *Zeus Hellenios* on Aegina, *Zeus Laphystios* in Phthiotis. Over two hundred such local names of *Zeus* are preserved, and each represents a different phase of the god with its own myths and its own rites.

Head of Zeus, from Otricoli.

For instance, at Dodona *Zeus* was worshiped by the Selloi, and in the rustling of the sacred oak these priests heard the will of *Zeus* revealed in response to men's enquiries. In other localities also oracles were sought from *Zeus*, signs drawn from birds or dreams were attributed to him, and even the oracles given by *Apollo* were regarded as interpretations of the will of *Zeus*. Again, on Mt. Lykaios in Arcadia there was a shrine of *Zeus Lykaios* with a grove which none might enter. The story was that here Lykaon offered up his own son to *Zeus*, and thereupon became a wolf. Human sacrifice was practiced here even in historic times, and the worshiper who chanced to taste the human flesh (instead of the flesh of the other victims) was said to become a wolf for nine years. On Mt. Lykaios, and on many other mountains of Greece, *Zeus* was worshiped as a weather-god, and in time of drought men prayed to him for rain. At Athens, as in many other localities, the worship of *Zeus* was closely associated with agriculture. (1) In early spring, *Zeus Meilichios* was worshiped with sacrifices and purifications; in the middle of the summer an ox was sacrificed to *Zeus* with special rites; at the beginning of the winter men worshiped *Zeus Maimaktes*, the wild god of storms, and *Zeus Georgos*, divine protector of agriculture. The olive tree and the fruits of the field were under the special protection of *Zeus* at Athens, and most of the sacrifices and processions at the feasts just mentioned had to do with the success of the crops. At Olympia the great games of Greece were celebrated in honor of *Zeus Olympios;* in solemn festival men sought the god's help for their contests, or honored him for their victories, and in the contests themselves the mass of the spectators saw an ancient practice by which the god might be worshiped. (2) All of Greece was united in these truly national games, and the god of Olympia became in fact the god of Greece. In addition to the functions already considered (*Zeus*, the god of oracles, of the weather, (3) of the crops, of athletic games), *Zeus* was worshiped in many places as the guardian of the city, *Z. Polieus* or *Z. Soter*. He was the protector of the family, and to him the stranger, the beggar, the suppliant appealed, for all social relations were under his special care. (4)

In these distinctly local cults we may find but little trace of the Homeric ideal, for ancient practice was very tenacious. But that ideal of the king, the father of gods and men, became more and more familiar to the Greek mind. Because

*Zeus* was the chief Greek god, local divinities received his name, *e.g.*, *Trophonios* at Lebadea became *Zeus Trophonios*. It was the Homeric ideal which inspired Phidias in the creation of the wonderful statue of *Zeus* for the temple at Olympia. (5) And as the poetry of Sophocles or the philosophy of Xenophanes formed an ideal of *one* god, a god above the gods, it was in the person of *Zeus* that this ideal became dimly expressed. (6)

The wife of *Zeus* was worshiped much less commonly than *Zeus* himself. At Dodona and originally at Athens, *Dione* was his queen; *Demeter* and *Leto* were worshiped in particular localities, each as the wife of *Zeus;* but it was *Hera* who became his lawful wife in the mythology which followed the epic. On the Argive plain, in Corinth and her colonies, in Boeotia and Euboea, and in particular on the island of Samos, the worship of *Hera* was quite as important as that of *Zeus* himself. As the ideal of the divine mother became embodied in *Leto* and in *Demeter*, *Hera* became the type of the *wife* among the gods, and the good and evil of human marriage reappear in her relations with *Zeus*. The worship of *Hera* was mainly concerned with her function as the patron of marriage, though she does appear at times as the queen of heaven, or as the mistress of war and athletic games. The principal feast in her honor was a mimic celebration of early marriage rites, in which a simple wooden image of the goddess was hidden in the forest and then brought back in triumphal procession by the side of the image of *Zeus*. Thus *Hera* was the divine wife, and in various phases of her worship different experiences of the wife are reflected.

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## 3. ZEUS AND HERA.

### (1) Zeus Rules Agriculture.

And Zeus, may He, by his supreme decree,
Make the earth yield her fruits
Through all the seasons round,
And grant a plenteous brood
Of herds that roam the fields!
May Heaven all good gifts pour,
And may the voice of song
Ascend o'er altar shrines,
Unmarred by sounds of ill!
—"*The Tragedies of Aeschylos*," *p. 162.*

**(2) Zeus Rules Athletics.**—O guardian Zeus that sittest above the clouds, that inhabitest the Kronian hill and honorest the broad river of Alpheos and Ida's holy cave, suppliant to thee I come, making my cry on Lydian flutes, to pray thee that thou wilt glorify this city with brave men's renown.—"*Odes of Pindar*," *p. 17.*

**(3) Zeus Rules the Weather.**—Zeus rains, there is a great storm from the sky, and all the streams are frozen.—"*Alcaeus*," *p. 16.*

### (4) Zeus Guards Suppliants.

*Chorus.* Look thou on Him who looks on all from heaven,
Guardian of suffering men
Who, worn with toil, unto their neighbors come
As suppliants, and receive not justice due:
For these the wrath of Zeus,
Zeus, the true suppliant's God,
Abides, by wail of sufferer unappeased.

*King.* Hard is the judgment: choose not me as judge.
But, as I said before, I may not act
Without the people, sovereign though I be,
Lest the crowd say, should aught fall out amiss,
"In honoring strangers, thou the State did'st ruin."

*Chorus.* Zeus, the great God of kindred, in those things
Watches o'er both of us.
Holding an equal scale, and fitly giving
To the base evil, to the righteous blessing.
Why, when these things are set
In even balance, fear'st thou to do right?
—"*Tragedies of Aeschylos*," *pp. 151-2.*

**(5) Phidias and Homer.**—The story is told of Phidias that when Panainos, the painter, asked him after what model he proposed to make the image of Zeus, he answered:—"After the model set forth in these verses of Homer: Kronion nodded with his dark eyebrows, and then the ambrosial locks streamed down from his immortal head, and great Olympos was shaken."—"*Strabo*," *p. 354.*

### (6) Zeus the Supreme God.

O Zeus—whate'er He be,
If that Name please Him well,
By that on Him I call:
Weighing all other names I fail to guess
Aught else but Zeus, if I would cast aside,
Clearly, in very deed,
From off my soul this idle weight of care.
—"*Tragedies of Aeschylos*," *pp. 187-8.*

Thy power, O Zeus, what haughtiness of man,
Yea, what can hold in check?
Which neither sleep, that maketh all things old,
Nor the long months of Gods that never fail,
Can for a moment seize.
But still as Lord supreme,
Waxing not old with time,
Thou dwellest in Thy sheen of radiancy
On far Olympos' height.
Through future near or far as through the past,
One law holds ever good,
Nought comes to life of man unscathed throughout by woe.
—"*Tragedies of Sophocles*," *pp. 150-1.*

## 4. APOLLO AND ARTEMIS.

In the epic *Phoibos* (*Phoebus*) *Apollo* is closely associated with his father *Zeus*, and in Greek religion generally he is the god who (next to *Zeus*) expresses most perfectly the religious ideals of the Greeks. The legend of his birth was attached to the island of Delos. This rocky spot consented to receive his mother *Leto*, who was fleeing from the persecution of *Hera*—so the story ran—on the promise that the children to be born should honor the land by their presence. So *Apollo* and *Artemis* were born by the sacred Delian lake, and Delos was one great center of their worship. (1) Delphi, however, was the spot most sacred to *Apollo* on the mainland of Greece, and the myth goes on to describe the journey of the infant *Apollo* from Delos to Attica and thence along the sacred way to the cliffs of Delphi. Here he acquired the oracle, slaying a monster *Python* who guarded it, and hither came pilgrims and embassies from the whole Greek world to enquire of the god. The question of each was put to the Pythia when she was possessed of the god, and her wild cries were interpreted by the priests in hexameter verse. Thus individuals received divine guidance in their private interests, and the political relations of the Greek cities were widely affected by the responses of the Delphian god. (2) At Delphi also sacred festivals celebrated the coming of the god thither, and his victory over the dragon. These events were represented in musical drama with great pomp, and the feasts were made more glorious by the Pythian games: musical contests in honor of the leader of the Muses, *Apollo*, god of the lyre, and athletic contests in honor of *Apollo*, the ideal of manly youth. To Delphi finally the murderer might come for purification. As *Apollo* was purified after killing the *Python*, so others might be cleansed from the taint of blood.

Artemis.

At Athens and on the coast of Ionia *Apollo* was worshiped as the protector of the crops, and the first fruits were offered to him. Here also he was the god who purified men and cities from evil; and sacrifices, in some places human sacrifices, were offered to him to obtain protection from pestilence.

In the Peloponnese, as in some parts of northern Greece, *Apollo* was worshiped as the god of flocks. At Sparta he was called *Karneios* (κάρνος, ram); near Epidauros, as in Thessaly, he received the name *Maleates* (protector of sheep?); the name *Nomios* (νόμοι, flocks) was quite common; and the wolf-god at Argos, *Apollo Lykios* became in myth the god who protected the flocks. A widespread legend tells how *Apollo* kept the flocks of Admetos, and became enamored of the nymph *Kyrene* in the fields.

*Apollo* was not the only god of flocks, for *Pan* in Arcadia, and *Hermes* in the region of Mt. Kyllene and elsewhere, were patron gods of the shepherds and their charge. Worshiped among ruder peoples, they partook of the nature of their worshipers, and *Pan* always remained distinctly the god of the fields and of the flocks.

No Greek god is so many-sided as *Artemis*, the sister of *Apollo*. In the universal mythology of Greece she is a chaste maiden, devoted to the hunt, in which nymphs of the wood are her companions. As *Apollo's* sister she shared not only many of his names, but also much of his worship. She was, however, most closely associated with the wild life of nature. The fawn was almost everywhere the symbol of her presence; in Attica and in Arcadia the bear was sacred to her, and she was even thought of as changing into the form of a bear; the dog was her common attendant. The transformation into a purely human god did not deprive *Artemis* of her nature-sympathy, for she still lived in the woods, and, like men who loved the woods, she was given to hunting. Because she was so closely connected with nature, local nature-goddesses were identified with her. *Kallisto*, the "fairest" in Arcadia; *Taygete*, the local goddess of Mt. Taygetos; *Diktynna* of Crete, came to be forms of *Artemis*. In Asia Minor particularly the local goddesses of wild nature were, for the Greek, forms of Artemis, even though—like *Artemis* (Diana) of the Ephesians—they had but little in common with the truly Greek *Artemis*. Again it was probably this connection with nature which made *Artemis* the patron of marriage and even the goddess of childbirth. In all these varied forms she remained the chaste maiden; as such she received the worship of girls up to marriage, and then they dedicated to her the dolls with which they had played, and often the girdle that distinguished an unmarried woman. As the patrons of youth, as the ideals of the strong young man and of the pure young woman, Apollo and Artemis called forth the religious aspirations of the Greeks.

It is important for the student of Greek religion to remember that in the case of *Apollo* and *Artemis* as in the case of *Zeus*, different localities worshiped each its own form of the god, and distinguished that form by the epithet added to the god's name. Many of these beings were originally different gods who became identified with one of the great gods of Greece as the community came under the influence of a general Greek culture.

## 4. APOLLO AND ARTEMIS.

### (1) Apollo Came from Delos.

First, with this prayer, of all the Gods I honor
The primal seeress Earth, and Themis next,
Who in due order filled her mother's place
(So runs the tale), and in the third lot named,
With her goodwill and doing wrong to none,
Another of the Titans' offspring sat,
Earth's daughter Phœbe, and as birthday gift
She gives it up to Phœbos, and he takes
His name from Phœbe. And he, leaving then
The pool and rocks of Delos, having steered
To the ship-traversed shores that Pallas owns,
Came to this land and to Parnassos' seat:
And with great reverence they escort him on,
Hephæstos' sons, road-makers, turning thus
The wilderness to land no longer wild;
And when he comes the peoples honor him,
And Delphos too, chief pilot of this land.
And him Zeus sets, his mind with skill inspired,
As the fourth seer upon these sacred seats.

—"*Tragedies of Aeschylos*," *pp. 297-8.*

(2) **Oracles.**—Croesus by crossing the Halys shall destroy a great kingdom.—*Aristotle's* "*Rhetoric*," *III., p. 5.*

Pallas is unable to propitiating Olympian Zeus, though beseeching him with many words and prudent counsel. But to thee I will utter again this word and make it like adamant. When all the rest is devastated which the border of Kekrops includes within it, and the hollow of sacred Kithairon, far-thundering Zeus shall grant to the Triton-born (i.e. Athena) that a wooden wall shall alone remain unsacked, which shall bless thee and thy children. Nor do thou wait at thine ease the cavalry and the foot coming in great numbers from Asia, but turn thy back and withdraw; for still sometime shalt thou be his opponent. O divine Salamis, indeed shalt thou destroy children of women, either when Demeter (the grain) is sown, or when it is gathered in.—"*Herodotos*," *VII., p. 141.*

### Prayer to Apollo.

But hear thou me; for thus I make my prayer;
The vision which I looked on in the night
Of doubtful dreams, grant me, Lykeian king,
If they are good, their quick accomplishment;
If adverse, send them on mine adversaries.
This, Lykeian king,
Apollo, hear all pitiful, and grant
To all of us, as we implore thee now;
All else, though I be silent, I will deem
Thou, being a God, dost know. One well may think
The sons of Zeus see all things.

—"*Tragedies of Sophocles*," *pp. 204-5.*

## 5. ATHENA.

The poet called Athens the eye of Greece, and *Athena*, patron goddess of Athens, was the exponent of the city's glory. The story ran that *Poseidon* and *Athena* each claimed the land, and the question was to be settled by a friendly contest in showing favor to its people. Poseidon struck the rock of the acropolis, and a spring of his own salt water gushed forth; Athena stretched forth her spear, and there arose the sacred olive tree whose gnarled trunk was carefully tended in later days. The olive was the best gift, and the gray-eyed goddess, with the gray olive and the owl for her symbols, became the patron goddess of Athens. This scene was represented by Phidias on the west pediment of the Parthenon, Athen's crowning tribute of art to her goddess, while the opposite pediment represented that other favorite myth, the

Athena and the Parthenon, on the Acropolis.

birth of *Athena*. *Zeus* had taken to wife *Metis*, the personification of intelligence, and then, fearing the birth of a son stronger than himself, he swallowed the mother and her unborn child. In the Homeric poems *Athena* is all but the very mind of *Zeus*, and the belief took poetic form in the story of her birth from the head of *Zeus*. On the Parthenon pediment *Zeus* was seated in the midst on his royal throne, and the gods were disposed on either side. *Hephaistos* had just struck the head of *Zeus* with his axe, and the daughter *Athena* was represented as she had sprung forth from his head—a goddess in full armor. Unfortunately the central group is gone, but we can form some idea of it from vase paintings.

All the land of Attica was sacred to *Athena*, and she was worshiped in many parts of it under different names, but her true home was on the acropolis of Athens. Near the middle stood the old temple destroyed in the Persian wars; to the north was the Erechtheum, ancient home of Erechtheus, and of Athena as an agrarian

goddess; and finally the age of Pericles erected that peerless building which later ages have known as the Parthenon. (1)

The most splendid religious festival at Athens was the Panathenaea. Once in four years this was a long holiday of athletic games and musical contests, but the religious center about which they moved was an ancient rite celebrated every year. In the rhapsode contests the Iliad and the Odyssey were recited, and later on Pericles introduced contests with the flute, with the cithara, and in singing. The gymnastic games were carefully graded for different ages, and consisted of running, wrestling, boxing, etc., of horse races, spear exercises, and dances executed in full armor. All had reference to the honor of the patron goddess, and the prizes were jars of oil from her sacred grove. The purely religious part of the feast consisted of torch dances at night by trained choruses of men and of women. These had some reference to the birth of the goddess. The second day came the grandest procession of the year, of which we may best gain an idea from the frieze of the Parthenon. Cattle and sheep for the sacrifice, with those who led them; bearers of the sacred vessels and of the wine for the sacrifice, musicians, the old nobility of Athens riding in chariots, and the youth of the city on horseback, constituted the splendid procession. At its head was borne the sacred garment which chosen maidens had long been preparing for the goddess. Sacrifices on the Areiopagos and the Acropolis concluded the circuit of the city, and after the solemn rites all the people feasted to the goddess. This worship recognized *Athena* as the warrior-goddess, guardian of the city, and at the same time as the patron of the women's art that had produced the garment thus brought to her.

Athena Writing.

In the epic *Pallas Athena* is distinctly the goddess of war. *Ares* and his companions, who represent the tumult of the battle, retreat into the background before the daughter of *Zeus*. In Thessaly, probably the early home of the people that produced the epic, *Athena* continued to be worshiped as a goddess of war (*Athena Itonia*). (2) The gold and ivory image made by Phidias for the Parthenon represented her wearing the helmet, the aegis on her breast and *Nike* "Victory," on her outstretched hand, while the bronze statue of *Athena Promachos*, "foremost in battle," was one of the striking features of the Acropolis.

The gift of the sacred peplos recognized *Athena* as the patron of women's arts. The garment was begun with religious rites, and woven by maidens set apart for the purpose, and finally presented to the goddess at the Panathenaea. *Ergane* was the special name of Athena in this capacity. She was also the patron of the arts in general, so that in the story of the Trojan war the wooden horse was constructed under her direction. *Hephaistos* was the smith-god, lame and grimy, like human smiths; but all cunning workmanship was under the care of *Athena*.

Finally, as associated with her foster-child Erechtheus, *Athena* was a goddess of agriculture. The dew-sisters, and the seasons, *Thallo*, *Auxo*, and *Karpo* (Bloom, Growth, and Fruit), belonged to the same group. One of the sacred ploughings before the farmer put seed in the ground was performed below the acropolis in honor of *Athena*. All the magistrates sacrificed to *Athena* when the young shoots first appeared above the ground; in early summer masses of figs were borne about in procession, and with other rites men sought the favor of the goddess for the ripening fruits of the field; finally, at vintage time, two boys with vine branches headed a procession to *Athena Skiras*. (3)

We are to think of *Athena*, however, as primarily the goddess of Athens, protecting all the interests of the city. The gods considered in these last three lessons are, indeed, the more important *state* gods of Greece. Other gods occupied this position in particular localities, but it is not necessary to consider them in detail to get a true conception of Greek religion. *Hera* at Argos, *Zeus* on Aegina, *Athena* at Athens were the patrons of these states, the very exponents of the life and culture of these cities. It is but a symbol of this fact when we find at the treaties, *e.g.*, between Athens and Lamos, a relief representing the patron goddess with hands clasped [*cf. Collignon*, "*History of Greek Sculpture*," II., Fig. 56]. We proceed to consider two gods whose importance arises from a different source, in that they represent another phase of religious life.

## 5. ATHENA.

(1) **Athena and Athens.**—And they that possessed the goodly citadel of Athens, the domain of Erechtheus the high-hearted, whom erst Athene daughter of Zeus, fostered when Earth, the grain-giver, brought him to birth; and she gave him a resting place in Athens in her own rich sanctuary; and there the sons of the Athenians worship him with bulls and rams as the years turn in their courses—these again were led of Menestheus, son of Peteos.—"*Iliad of Homer*," *p. 38.*

(2) **Athena, Goddess of War.**—And Athene, daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus, cast down at her father's threshold her woven vesture many-colored, that herself had wrought and her hands had fashioned; and put on her the tunic of Zeus the cloud-gatherer, and arrayed her in her armor for dolorous battle. About her shoulders cast she the tasselled aegis terrible, whereon is Panic as a crown all round about, and Strife is therein and Valor and horrible Onslaught withal, and therein is the dreadful monster's Gorgon head, dreadful and grim, portent of aegis-bearing Zeus. Upon her head set she the two-crested golden helm with fourfold plate, bedecked with men-at-arms of a hundred cities. Upon the flaming chariot set she her foot, and grasped her heavy spear, great and stout, wherewith she vanquisheth the ranks of men, even of heroes with whom she of the awful sire is wroth.

So saying she aroused the spirit and soul of every man. And to Tydeides' side sprang the bright-eyed goddess Athene. That lord she found beside his horses and chariot, cooling the wound that Pandaros with his dart had pierced, for his sweat vexed it by reason of the broad baldrick of his round shield; therewith was he vexed and his arm grew weary, so he was lifting up the baldrick and wiping away the dusky blood. Then the goddess laid her hand on his horses' yoke, and said: "Of a truth Tydeus begat a son little after his own likeness. Tydeus was short of stature, but a man of war; yea, even when I would not have him fight nor make display—what time he came apart from the Achaians on an embassage to Thebes, to the midst of the multitude of the Kadmeians, I bade him feast in their halls at peace; but he, possessing his valiant soul as of old time, challenged the young men of the Kadmeians and in everything vanquished them [easily; so sure a helper was I unto him]. But for thee, beside thee stand I and guard thee and with all my heart bid thee fight the Trojans; yet either hath weariness of much striving entered into thy limbs, or disheartening terror hath taken hold of thee. If that be so, no offspring art thou of Tydeus, the wise son of Oineus." . . .

So speaking, with her hand she drew back Sthenelos and thrust him from the chariot to earth, and instantly leapt he down; so the goddess mounted the car by noble Diomedes' side right eagerly. The oaken axle creaked loud with its burden, bearing the dread goddess and the man of might. Then Pallas Athene grasped the whip and reins; forthwith against Ares first guided she the whole-hooved horses. Now he was stripping huge Periphas, most valiant far of the Aitolians, Ochesios' glorious son. Him was blood-stained Ares stripping; and Athene donned the helm of Hades, that terrible Ares might not behold her. Now when Ares, scourge of mortals, beheld noble Diomedes, he left huge Periphas lying there, where at the first he had slain him and taken away his life, and made straight at Diomedes, tamer of horses. Now when they were come nigh in onset on one another, first Ares thrust over the yoke and horses' reins with spear of bronze, eager to take away his life. But the bright-eyed goddess Athene with her hand seized the spear and thrust it up over the car, to spend itself in vain. Next Diomedes of the loud war-cry attacked with spear of bronze; and Pallas Athene drave it home against Ares' nethermost belly, where his taslets were girt about him. There smote he him and wounded him, rending through his fair skin, and plucked forth the spear again. Then brazen Ares bellowed loud as nine thousand warriors or ten thousand cry in battle as they join in strife and fray. Thereat trembling gat hold of Achaians and Trojans for fear, so mightily bellowed Ares, insatiate of battle. —*Ibid, pp. 104-8.*

(3) **Athena, Goddess of Agriculture.**

*Chorus.* What hymn then for this land dost bid me raise?

*Athena.* Such as is meet for no ill-victory.

. . . . . .

And pray that blessings upon men be sent,
And that, too, both from earth, and ocean's spray,
And out of heaven; and that the breezy winds,
In sunshine blowing, sweep upon the land,
And that o'erflowing fruit of field and flock
May never fail my citizens to bless,
Nor safe deliverance for the seed of men.
But for the godless, rather root them out:
For I, like gardener shepherding his plants,
This race of just men freed from sorrow love.
So much for thee—and I will never fail
To give this city honor among men,
Victorious in the noble games of war.

—"*Tragedies of Aeschylos*," *p. 331.*

## 6. DIONYSOS.

The modern reader often misses in Greek literature that aesthetic appreciation of nature which is so important an element in our modern thought. However, the feeling of sympathy with nature, though not expressed in the form that modern poetry has made familiar to us, occupied a larger place in Greek life than we might imagine. To the Greek, all nature was instinct with manifold forms of life, not unlike his own, but free from many human limitations. The rivers were gods he worshiped; naiads dwelt in springs and moist meadows, dryads in single trees; wild hill slopes and deep wooded valleys away from human activity, as well as the grove where near his dwelling the still power of nature was manifest to him, he peopled with other types of nymphs. In these nymphs, as well as in *Pan*, the *Satyrs*, and similar male figures, the Greek personified the intangible essence of the nature-life which he felt about him. It was quite natural, therefore, that the earlier phallic cult should be largely observed by *Dionysos*, as appears from the symbols (*phallos* and *kteis*) carried in his processions, and in the marked male traits of his attendant *Satyrs*.

The nymphs were the nurses of *Dionysos;* the satyrs were companions following in his train; *Dionysos* himself, as we shall see, was honored as the god of that inner life which was manifest in all the different phases of nature. Even though he may have come to Greece from a people in the north who were distantly related to the Greeks, he became as truly a Greek god as *Apollo* or *Athena* or *Zeus*. The difference is that *Dionysos* is not simply a *person*, not simply an anthropomorphic god, but that we can trace the thought which was at the basis of this worship, viz., the personification of nature-life in him.

The story of the birth of *Dionysos* was localized in Thebes. (1) His mother, *Semele*, won the love of *Zeus*, and thereby the jealousy of *Hera*. She was moved by Hera to ask for a sight of *Zeus* in all his glory, and, the request being granted, she was consumed by the vision. *Zeus*, however, rescued her unborn infant from the flames (whence he was called fire-born) and placed him in his own thigh, from which in due time he was born a second time (and called twice-born, thigh-born).

Other stories of *Dionysos* tell mainly of his advent in Greece, and assume his foreign origin. According to one group of stories, he came a delicate youth, followed by train of maenads and satyrs, introducing a wild worship. Many obstacles are placed in his way by the adherents of the older order, but these yield to the power of the god. The new servants of the god feel his power as a divine madness overmastering them, while his opponents are bereft of reason and led to their own destruction. Another group of stories tell of his entertainment by early Greek kings (Oineus, Ikaros), in return for which favor he leaves the divine gift of the grape vine. Here also madness follows in the train of his visit, the madness which comes from drunkenness, and madness from the god is healed by the god.

Was *Dionysos* a foreign god introduced from Thrace? The meagre accounts in ancient writers show that Thracian tribes worshiped a supreme divinity, the personification (to use again our modern phrase) of the principle of life in nature. This supreme god of the Thracians was worshiped as the seasons changed to secure good crops; he was present in animal and vegetable life; his power was manifested in the human spirit, taking away human reason and giving man superhuman mental powers, so that he could foretell the future, and at death men went to him from whom their life had sprung—the god of life was also the god of souls. It is probable that the story of *Dionysos*' birth from the thigh of *Zeus* was an attempt to unite the supreme god of the Thracians with *Zeus* and give him a place in Greek mythology. His entrance against opposition, his triumphs over that opposition, are the truths told to later generations in mythical form.

The worship of *Dionysos* in Greece tends to show that the Greek god, like his Thracian counterpart, was essentially the god of life in nature. At Delphi, and at several other religious centers, he was worshiped with orgiastic rites in winter when the old year died and the life of a new year began. Groups of women went out on the slopes of Parnassos at night with torches and engaged in ecstatic rites, dancing wild dances, swinging torch and thyrsos-staff, twining serpents, it is said, in their loosened hair, and making wild music with cymbal and flute. They fondled young animals, only to tear them in pieces as the mood changed, and devour the bleeding flesh. The god was in them, taking away their reason and possessing them with his spirit; the god of nature-life was in the animals they fostered and devoured; all the strange rites were tribute paid to the god that was dying and was being born again. (2)

The same thought, the adoration of the life in nature, appears in the worship of trees. At Ephesos, it is a grove of trees in which the divine presence is felt. Occasionally it is a single tree, an oak or a fir, that is not merely the sign of the god, but his very embodiment. Or, again, a tree-trunk is set up for worship, perhaps receiving a human mask and clothes, to be a *Dionysos*, the concrete representation of nature life.

Feast of Dionysos.

The vine, however, was commonly the sacred object of *Dionysos* worship. The very spirit of nature was seen present in the wine, and those who drank it felt his supernatural life flowing in their own veins. Certainly, in Attica, the worship of Dionysos centered about his presence in the vine which was his gift. The country Dionysia, the Lenaea on the shortest day of the year, the Anthesteria or feast of new wine, and finally the great spring festival of the city — Dionysia, were all celebrated in honor of the vine-god. Even the wild, joyful rites of nature-worship became ministers of Greek culture, although the ecstatic worship of the god of animal and vegetable life was never wholly obscured. The songs and dances and simple plays of the country Dionysia, the rough joking "from the wagons" at the Lenaea, were what developed into the dithyramb — the perfect lyric — and the tragedy and comedy of the Attic stage. In the hands of Pesistratos and of Pericles, the greater Dionysia at which these dramas were presented became the completest expression of Greek art, and from all the Greek world strangers flocked to Athens to share the festival, which was the glory, not of one city alone but of all Greece.

The sculptured representation of a Maenad in wild dance suggests to us little that is religious; still less the figure of a sensual youth overcome by drink. To the Greek these figures suggest not so much the wildness which set culture at naught, nor the sensual excess which reduced man to the level of the beast; to the Greek eye they represented a worship in which he felt the dread mystery of life and growth in nature, a worship in which he sought communion with the great spirit that lives in all that lives. The same mystic vein which was at the basis of revolting rites in Phoenicia inspired the sacred meal offering of the Hebrews; the same mystic effort for union with the divine which underlay the Dionysos worship of Greece has many times in purer form proved the source of new religious life to the Christian Church.

## 6. DIONYSOS.

### (1) Birth of Dionysos.

*Chorus.* O Thou of many names,
Of that Cadmeian maid
The glory and the joy,
Whom Zeus as offspring owns,
Zeus, thundering deep and loud,
Who watchest over famed Italia,
And reign'st o'er all the bays that Deo claims
On fair Eleusis' coast.
Bacchos, who dwell'st in Thebes, the mother-town
Of all thy Bacchant train,
Along Ismenos' stream;
And with the dragon's brood.
—"*Tragedies of Sophocles*," *pp. 168-9.*

### (2) Rites of Dionysos.

*Pentheus.* Speak freely; thou from me hast naught to fear;
Nor on the good shall my displeasure fall.
But the more dreadful are the deeds by thee
Related of these Bacchæ, with more weight
Shall my severest vengeance light on him,
Who to these arts allured our frantic dames.
*Messenger.* Now to the mountain summits had I led
My herds, as on the earth the orient sun
Shot his refreshing beams; when I beheld
Three bands of females, to Autonoe one
Obedient, to Agave one, thy mother;
The third to Ino: all were laid asleep;
Beneath them some had spread the boughs of pines;
Some with the leaves of oaks form'd on the ground
Their casual bed, all decently composed.
Thou wouldst not say that goblets full of wine
Inflamed their sense, or that the wanton pipe
Had led them to the lonely shades to court
The rites of Venus with their paramours.
Thy mother, when the lowings of the herds
Had reach'd her ears, arose, and 'midst her band
Shouted aloud, to rouse them from their sleep:
They from their balmy slumbers oped their eyes,
And started up, but with that modesty
'Twas wonderful to see, the young, the old,
And the unmarried virgins. O'er their necks
Their loose-devolving hair they spread, refix
Their vestments, such whose cinctures were unloosed,
And o'er them bind the spotted skins of fawns,
With serpents wreathing round their shaded cheeks.
Some, holding in their arms a kid, and some
The wolves' wild whelps, taught them to drain their breasts
Swelling with milk, their new-born infants left
At home; then on their heads their garlands place
Of oak, of ivy, and the silvery bloom
Of smilax: one her thyrsus took, and smote
The rock; out gush'd the pure, translucent stream:
Another cast her light wand on the ground;
Instant (so will'd the god ) a fount of wine
Sprung forth: if any wish'd a softer draught,
These with their fingers oped the ground, and milk
Issued in copious streams; and from their spears
With ivy wreathed the dulcet honey flow'd.
Hadst thou been present, thou wouldst not, as now,
Revile the god; but, seeing this, with vows
Address him. All the herdsmen gather'd round,
And all the shepherds, with dissentient voice
To descant on these deeds, that struck their sense
With dread and wonder. 'Midst us came a man
Practiced in city wiles, and train'd to gloze
His hackney'd tongue, who thus bespoke us all:
"You, who the hallow'd mountain's pastoral tracts
Inhabit, from her orgies shall we chase
The royal dame Agave, to our king
Doing a grace?" We thought he counsell'd well;
And, cover'd in the leafy thickets, took
Our secret stations: at the appointed hour
They shook the thyrsus to their revelry,
And shouted Evoe Bacchus, son of Jove.
With thickening clamors, all the mountains danced
To their wild revelry, with all its beasts,
And nothing at their measures stood unmoved.
Near me Agave chanced to bound along;
I, from the thicket where I stood conceal'd,
Sprung forward with an eager wish to seize her:
She cried aloud, "Companions of my chase,
We by these men are chased; but follow me;
Follow, and with the thyrsus arm your hands."
We saved ourselves by flight, the Bacchæ else
Had torn us piecemeal, on the herds, that grazed
The verdant slope, their hands unarm'd with steel,
They rush'd; a heifer lowing mightst thou see
Held in the hands of one, and others rent
The herds; their limbs and cleft hoofs mightst thou see
Hurl'd to and fro, and hanging on the pines
Distain their green with blood; ev'n the fierce bulls,
Wont with their angry horns to threaten, fell,
Beneath a thousand hands of youthful females
Dragg'd to the ground; asunder were they rent
Ere thou couldst close thy royal eyelids down.
Instant, like birds that wing their airy flight,
They hurried to the extended plains below,
Which, by Asopus water'd, yield to Thebes
A plenteous harvest; to Erythra's walls,
And Hysia, fix'd beneath Cithæron's heights;
On these with hostile rage they fell, and rent
Whate'er they found, and toss'd it scatter'd wide;
And ev'n their children from their houses snatch'd.
Whate'er was on their shoulders placed, remain'd
Fix'd, though not bound, and fell not to the earth,
Were it or brass or iron: in their hair
They carried fire, yet were their locks not burnt,
Those, who were plunder'd by these madding dames,
Flew in their rage to arms; then mightst thou see
A sight, O king! had struck thee with amaze;
Unstained with blood their iron-pointed spears
Fell harmless, whilst each thyrsus gored with wounds:
Dismay ensued, and flight, by female hands
Men vanquish'd, not without some god. And now
Back to the heights, which they had left, they wing'd
Their way, and to the fountains which the god
Had open'd for them, and wash'd off the blood,
Whilst from their cheeks the serpent's cleansing tongue
Lick'd the warm drop. Therefore receive, O king!
This god, whoe'er he be, into the city;
For, powerful as he is, his bounty gave
(So fame reports) the sorrow-ceasing vine
To men: where wine is wanting, love soon flies;
Nothing so bathes the spirits in delight.
*Pen.* These insults of the Bacchæ, like a flame,
Are kindled near us, a reproach to Greece.
This is no time for slow delay; with speed
Fly to the Electran gates; bid all that bear
The massy shield, that mount the rapid steed,
That toss the light targe, and the stringed bow
Grasp in their hands, attend me; I will lead them
Against these Bacchæ. No, it is too much,
From women to endure this insolence.
—"*Euripides*," *pp. 26-30.*

## FIRST WEEKLY REVIEW.

1. **THE GODS OF HOMER.**—Beginnings of Greek religion, Nature of the epic, Zeus, Hera, Athena, Apollo, Artemis, Minor gods.
2. **NATURE OF THE EPIC GODS.**—Homer as a school book, Gods and natural phenomena, Gods defined physically, mentally, and morally, Providence, Fate.
3. **ZEUS AND HERA.**—Local character of Greek worship, Worship of Zeus at Dodona, Mt. Lykaios, Athens, Olympia, Functions of Zeus, Hera and her worship.
4. **APOLLO AND ARTEMIS.**—Legend of their birth, The Delphic oracle, Worship of Apollo in Ionia, in the Peloponnese, Artemis as a nature goddess, and as Apollo's brother.
5. **ATHENA.**—Her birth, Temples at Athens, The Panathenaea, Athena as goddess of war, of woman's arts, of agriculture, as goddess of Athens.
6. **DIONYSOS.**—Greek sympathy with nature, Birth of Dionysos, Advent in Greece, From Thrace? Dionysiac worship, The god of wine and of the drama.

## QUESTIONS.

Offerings at an Ancestral Tomb.

1. *What are the first archeological data, and the first literary data for our knowledge of Greek religion? Where did the Homeric poems receive their form? Where were they sung? Why were not its gods local? How is Zeus superior to the other gods in Homer? What are the two aspects of Homer? What various functions has Athena? What are the relations of the gods in the epic?*

2. *What was the place of Homer in Greek education? Define the idea of a god in Homer. Do the Greek gods represent natural phenomena? What is the best method of getting a definite idea of the epic gods? How do gods differ from men physically? —mentally? What is their moral character? What is felt to be the relation of men to the gods? Did men always feel their dependence on the gods? Explain how the gods came to be thought of as subject to fate.*

3. *Are the gods of the epic beings that men worshiped? What is the fact of local worship? Describe the worship at Dodona and on Mt. Lykaios. What is the connection of Zeus with agriculture? What was the worship of God at Olympia? What is the proof that Zeus was still conceived as king of the gods? Contrast Hera with Leto and Demeter. What was Hera's most important function? How does it appear in her worship?*

4. *Give the legend of the birth of Apollo and of Artemis. What was Apollo's function at Delphi? How great an influence did this have? Describe the worship at Delphi. What was Apollo's most important function in Ionia?—in the Peloponnese? Name other gods of the flocks. What was the general conception of Artemis? What was her relation to nature, both before and after she became a purely human god? How was she worshiped before marriage?*

5. *Give the story of the contest of Athena and Poseidon for Attika; also the story of Athena's birth. What were the temples of Athena on the Acropolis? What was the religious center of the Panathenaea? Describe the great festival procession and its sacrifices. Describe also the contests that were associated with the festival. What were Athena's special functions? What is the evidence that she presided over agriculture? What was the relation of Athena to Athens?*

6. *Describe the character of the Greek sympathy for nature. Give the story of the birth of Dionysos and of his advent in Greece. What is the evidence that he came from Thrace? Describe the nature of his worship in Greece. How were trees worshiped? How was the vine worshiped? and what was the religious meaning of this worship? What was the origin of the Greek drama?*

## SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Estimate the value of the Homeric poems (sung at courts, to please, by wandering bards) as a source for the knowledge of Greek religion.*

2. *Iliad XXI. Contrast the river god in the first half of the book with the general conception of the Homeric gods. Contrast the idea of the relation of the gods, as well as their nature, to be derived from the last part of the book (the Theomachy) with what is found in the rest of the poems and described in the lessons above.*

3. *What evidence can you find that Zeus was once a deification of the heavens?*

4. *How can we best explain the existence of so many separate local forms of the Greek gods, each with his own title?*

5. *What would be the probable result for religion and for politics of regarding the goddess as the personification of the city's life? Can State and Church be entirely separated, so that each will exercise its proper functions alone?*

6. *Study the development of the drama from Dionysos-worship, as presented in any good history of Greek literature.*

## 7. DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE.

*Demeter* was primarily the goddess of agriculture, and of the grain which the fields produced. Homer speaks of the "corn of *Demeter*" as the characteristic food of men, and calls the goddess "yellow-haired," for the ripened corn is yellow. Hesiod bids the farmer pray to *Zeus* of the lower world and to holy *Demeter* for good crops as he begins to plough. *Demeter* is the earth, says Euripides, mother earth, who gives her children food; by her favor the corn grows, and when she is angry the seed fails to sprout. The story is that the goddess discovered the grain and made it subject to cultivation; then she gave the seed to Triptolemos, and sent him in a car drawn by winged serpents to bear it to every people.

Of the one myth of *Demeter* we have an early version in the Homeric hymn. In the epic we hear of *Persephone* only as the dread queen of the lower world, the bride of *Hades*. In the Homeric hymn she is the innocent daughter of *Demeter* and *Zeus*, who was snatched up and borne away to the lower world by *Aïdoneus* (*Hades*) as she was plucking flowers in the Nysian plain. The mother heard her cry as she disappeared, and, tearing the veil from her head, she put on a black garment and wandered without food nine days in search of her daughter. When she learned that *Hades* had taken her with *Zeus*' consent, she left Olympos in wrath, and refused to allow the corn even to sprout. The Homeric hymn tells of her appearance at Eleusis in the guise of an old woman, sad and veiled, and how she was persuaded to break her fast with the mystic drink, the kykeon, and to become the nurse of the king's son. At length her divinity was revealed, and at her bidding a temple was erected, and the sacred Eleusinian rites established. Men still suffered for lack of food until *Zeus* sent *Hermes* to bring back *Persephone* from *Hades;* mother and daughter, we read, spent the whole day in affectionate caresses, and *Demeter* was propitiated. *Persephone* has eaten a pomegranate seed in the lower world, so she must continue to spend one-third of the year there with her husband. The hymn concludes with a reference to *Demeter's* two great gifts to men—the corn with which they are nourished, and the glorious rites of Eleusis by which they receive blessing for this life and the next.

The story of *Persephone*, who disappears each autumn when the corn is sown and is restored to this world as the new blade breaks the sod, seems clearly an allegory representing the corn itself. The corn is buried, as are the dead, and for three months *Persephone* is queen of the dead. For the rest of the year she is with her mother *Demeter* (Δημήτηρ), as the corn is nurtured in the lap of mother earth (Γῆ μήτηρ).

For Eleusis, however, the hymn has a far greater importance than as a simple myth, since it contains the sacred legend of the Eleusinian mysteries. Every autumn men came to Eleusis, for here *Demeter* had come in search for her daughter. Veiled like *Demeter*, they imitate her wanderings through the night. Having fasted for nine days, as did *Demeter*, they also break the fast with the kykeon. The well where she is said to have rested, the king's house where she was nurse, the temple built for her in the time of her grief—these are the sacred spots where they realize anew the presence of the goddess. The reunion of *Persephone* with her mother, the continued life of *Persephone* in Hades, the sending out of Triptolemos to distribute to the world *Demeter's* two gifts, the corn and the mysteries—these scenes in which men bore part as actors and as spectators constituted a drama of divine things. They shared the experiences of the goddess, her grief and anxiety, her anger, her joy in the reunion with her daughter; and in this mystic communion they found peace from their own sorrows, and felt the blessedness of a joy that seemed more than human. Thus conscious of the presence of the gods who ruled the dead, they could look forward with a calmer hope to death itself and could expect the favor of *Persephone* below, since they had worshiped her here at Eleusis. (1)

That the worship at Eleusis met a real religious need is shown by its rapid development on from the sixth century B.C. Greek religion had centered in the state, and its rites, while they grew in importance and in magnificence with the development of the state, tended to become merely political and social institutions. With the rise of individualism in the political and the intellectual sphere, the need of a new type of religion was felt. Many new forms of religious ritual were introduced to meet this need, but they were under the ban of social disapproval, for they broke with tradition and seemed to undermine the basis of society. The worship at Eleusis was one of the very few old state cults which could adapt itself to meet the newly-felt needs of the individual. Its success was due to the fact that it combined old respectability with a religious message to the new age.

The boy Triptolemos between Demeter and Persephone.

The worship of *Demeter* emphasized a human sympathy in this divinity which was seldom thought of in connection with other gods. It is the worship of a mother-goddess, a mother who has felt a real human love for her daughter, whose love has been tried by anxiety and suffering, but who at length has found complete joy in reunion with her daughter. To the sufferer among the gods suffering men and women turn for help.

The peculiar relation of *Demeter* to the Greek woman found expression in the worship of *Demeter Thesmophoros*. At the Thesmophoria women alone joined in secret worship of the goddess, and men were excluded under the severest penalties. It was a worship of the goddess who protected the rights of married women, and from whom they expected the blessing of fair children.

Under these three aspects *Demeter* became one of the most important Greek gods. As mother earth, she received the seed and gave to men the grain; as the goddess of motherhood, she cared for the wife and granted her the children she desired; as the mother of *Persephone* and the goddess of the mysteries, she blessed men in their life here and after death.

## 7. DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE.

(1) **The Mysteries.**—"Summoning the rest of the initiated, they first call out, 'Whosoever is pure in hands and intelligible in speech,' and again others 'Whoever is pure from all defilement and whose soul knows no evil,' and 'Whoever has lived righteously.'"—"*Celsus*," *Origen III., p. 147, ch. 49.*

We alone have the sun and holy light who have been initiated and have lived a pious life toward strangers and toward relatives. — *Aristophanes*, "*Frogs*," *p. 455ff.*

The best of the initiatory rites here are a dreamy shadow of that vision, and that initiation and the statements made (at the mysteries) are cunningly devised to remind one of the beauties there (in the world of divine realities), else they are but nonsense.—" *Plut. de def. orac.*," *p. 422C.*

Demeter graciously disposed toward our ancestors because of the favors she received—favors which only the initiated are permitted to hear—gave them the two gifts which proved of greatest value, the grain, which is the reason why we do not live as the beasts do, and the initiatory rites, by sharing which men have sweet hopes for the end of life here and for all future time.—*Isokrates*, "*Panegyric*," *p. 28.*

Blessed is he who has seen those things before he goes beneath the earth; he knows the end of life; and its Zeus-given beginning. — *Pindar*, "*Fragments*," *p. 102.*

Thrice blessed are those mortals who have seen these initiatory rites before they go to Hades; for they alone have life, but the rest have all evils there —*Sophocles*, "*Fragments*," *p. 719.*

## 8. DEVELOPMENT OF BELIEF IN THE FUTURE LIFE.

The student of religion among primitive peoples finds an almost universal belief in a life after death. Burial is a time for feasting and games as much as any occasion during life; the dead are carefully housed, and supplied with food to meet their wants; good or evil is expected by survivors from the souls of the dead. In a word, men generally have believed that something lives on after death, and that this soul is freed from some human limitations and has some powers greater than man's.

The Homeric poems show a very different view of the future. What leaves the body at death is a sort of dream-image, unsubstantial as smoke or mist. The flight of a soul is compared to that of a gibbering bat. The body is called the man's *self*

The Underworld. On the Throne Sit Pluto and Persephone. For the other Figures see Side Lights.

quite as often as the soul. In fact, all is over at death, and what is left in Hades is nothing but a shade, a shadow, of the man. In two passages of the Odyssey, however, the picture of Hades is painted in somewhat fuller colors. Here the souls are represented as conscious of their lot, and as retaining an interest in what happens on the earth. But even in this picture Achilles exclaims:

> "I would rather be a laborer on earth and serve for hire
> Some man of mean estate, who makes scant cheer,
> Than reign o'er all who have gone down to death."
> —*Odyssey xi, 489-91.*

Still we find evidence enough in the Homeric poems themselves of an earlier belief, more in line with that found among primitive peoples. Careful burial is necessary, and the one instance which is described in detail (Iliad, XXIII.) includes

sacrifices of men and animals, as well as many athletic contests. Such sacrifices and games can only have originated in connection with a belief in the supernatural character of the soul. So the rites for evoking a soul which are described in the eleventh book of the Odyssey, the promise of a sacrifice to Teiresias, and, indeed, the fact that Odysseus goes down to Hades at all to learn the future from a departed soul, are evidences of a view totally at variance with that ordinarily found in the epic. Remains in tombs from an earlier period confirm the opinion that in some localities the dead were worshiped before the rise of the Homeric poems; and the very existence of ancestor worship in historic times points in the same direction, for religious customs are very tenacious.

We may then affirm that the early Greeks had much the same view of the soul, as a being to be worshiped, which we find among primitive peoples generally. With the rise of the epic, which treated of heroic deeds of valor and endurance on this earth, men's attention was turned away from superstitious fears to the possibilities of life here, away from local worship of limited spirits to the splendid court of the Olympian gods. The dead continued to be honored, but the religion of the greater gods, as described in the epic, was entirely oblivious of any lesser spirits.

Coming down to the classical period, we find in forms of burial and in the worship of ancestors survivals of the early belief in souls. At Athens the body of the dead person was cleansed and arrayed in clean garments, then exposed to public view for a day. The mourning was almost a worship, and included elaborate sacrifices, until they were forbidden by law. With the body were buried vessels and utensils and ornaments for its use, and libations of wine, oil, and honey were made at the grave on certain specified days. The soul continued to flutter about the grave, and men hesitated to attract its notice in any way. But during one festival, the Anthesteria, the souls of the dead wandered freely through the city, and special precautions were necessary to ward off any harm they might do. All the various ceremonies in reference to the dead were either simple acts of piety, or means to protect the survivors from harm. Still they pre-suppose that the dead take pleasure in offerings, and that they have power to work evil when offended. (1)

In addition to this general worship of the dead, we find the more fully developed worship of hero-ancestors. These are semi-divine beings, worshiped by the family who claim descent from them or by the locality which is under their special patronage. In some instances such worship arose out of honors paid to the dead, though this was not usually the case. The worship of hero-ancestors did however influence the belief in a future life, because it constantly suggested to the Greek the fact that he was regarding *some* souls of the dead as actually divine.

The religion of *Dionysos* was probably the starting-point of a new belief in souls. The god of that life in nature which manifested itself anew each year was also the god of souls. Men felt his power overmastering their minds as they joined his ecstatic worship. They became united with the divine being in secret rites, and death could not separate this mystic union. Other mysteries also promised the same hope for the future, and the superstitious found comfort from their fears. The worship of *Demeter* at Eleusis was comparatively free from orgiastic elements, but the worshipers here also felt the presence of the goddess with them, and seemed to share her experiences of sorrow and of joy. Being assured of the power and favor of the chthonic gods, they could look forward with assurance to the future life.

While many found comfort in this new hope for the future, these very rites became a source of dissatisfaction to others, and confirmed them in their skeptical attitude. Still others, a small group of idealistic thinkers, found in philosophic speculation a basis for the popular belief that the soul lives on after death. (2)

## 8. DEVELOPMENT OF BELIEF IN THE FUTURE LIFE.

### (1) Ancestor-cult.

*Electra* [*moving to the tomb, and pouring libations as she speaks*].

O mightiest herald of the gods on high
And those below, O Hermes of the dark,
Call thou the Powers beneath, and bid them hear
The prayers that look towards my father's house;
And Earth herself who all things bringeth forth,
And rears them and again receives their fruit.
And I to human souls libations pouring,
Say, calling on my father, "Pity me;
How shall we bring our dear Orestes home?"
For now as sold to ill by her who bore us,
We poor ones wander. She as husband gained
Ægisthos, who was partner in thy death;
And I am as a slave, and from his wealth
Orestes now is banished, and they wax
Full haughty in the wealth thy toil had gained.
And that Orestes hither with good luck
May come, I pray. Hear thou that prayer, my father!
And to myself grant thou that I may be
Than that my mother wiser far of heart,
Holier in act. For us this prayer I pour;
And for our foes, my father, this I pray,
That Justice may as thine avenger come,
And that thy murderers perish. Thus I place
Midway in prayer for good that now I speak,
My prayer 'gainst them for evil. Be thou then
The escort of these good things that I ask,
With help of Gods, and Earth, and conquering Justice.
With prayers like these my votive gifts I pour;
And as for you [*turning to the chorus*], 'tis meet with cries to crown
The pæan ye utter, wailing for the dead.

STROPHE.

*Chorus.* Pour ye the pattering tear,
Falling for fallen lord,
Here by the tomb that shuts out good and ill—
Here, where the full libations have been poured
That turn aside the curse men deprecate,
Hear me, O Thou my Dread,
Hear thou, O Sire, the words my dark mind speaks!

—"*Tragedies of Aeschylos*," *pp. 256-8.*

Fly, Echo, to Persephone's dark-walled home, and to his father bear the noble tidings, that seeing him thou mayest speak to him of his son, saying that for his father's honor in Pisa's famous valley he hath crowned his boyish hair with garlands from the glorious games.—"*Odes of Pindar*," *p. 50.*

(2) **Attitude Toward Death.**—Victory setteth free the essayer from the struggle's griefs, yea, and the wealth that a noble nature hath made glorious bringeth power for this and that, putting into the heart of man a deep and eager mood, a star far seen, a light wherein a man shall trust, if but the holder thereof knoweth the things that shall be, how that of all who die the guilty souls pay penalty, for all the sins sinned in this realm of Zeus One judgeth under earth, pronouncing sentence by unloved constraint.

But evenly ever in sunlight night and day an unlaborious life the good receive, neither with violent hand vex they the earth nor the waters of the sea, in that new world; but with the honored of the gods, whosoever had pleasure in keeping of oaths, they possess a tearless life; but the other part suffer pain too dire to look upon.

Then whosoever have been of good courage to the abiding steadfast thrice on either side of death and have refrained their souls from all iniquity, travel the road of Zeus unto the tower of Kronos; there round the islands of the blest the ocean-breezes blow, and golden flowers are glowing, some from the land on trees of splendor, and some the waters feedeth, with wreaths whereof they entwine their hands; so ordereth Rhadamanthos' just degree, whom at his own right hand hath ever the father Kronos, husband of Rhea, throned above all worlds.—*Ibid, pp. 8, 9.*

*Antigone.* O tomb, my bridal chamber, vaulted home,
Guarded right well forever, where I go
To join mine own, of whom the greater part
Among the dead doth Persephassa hold;
And I, of all the last and saddest, wend
My way below, life's little span unfilled.
And yet I go, and feed myself with hopes
Then I shall meet them, by my father loved,
Dear to my mother, well-beloved of thee,
Thou darling brother: I, with these my hands,
Washed each dear corpse, arrayed you, poured libations,
In rites of burial; and in care for thee,
Thy body, Polyneikes, honoring,
I gain this recompense.

—"*Tragedies of Sophocles*," *pp. 160-61.*

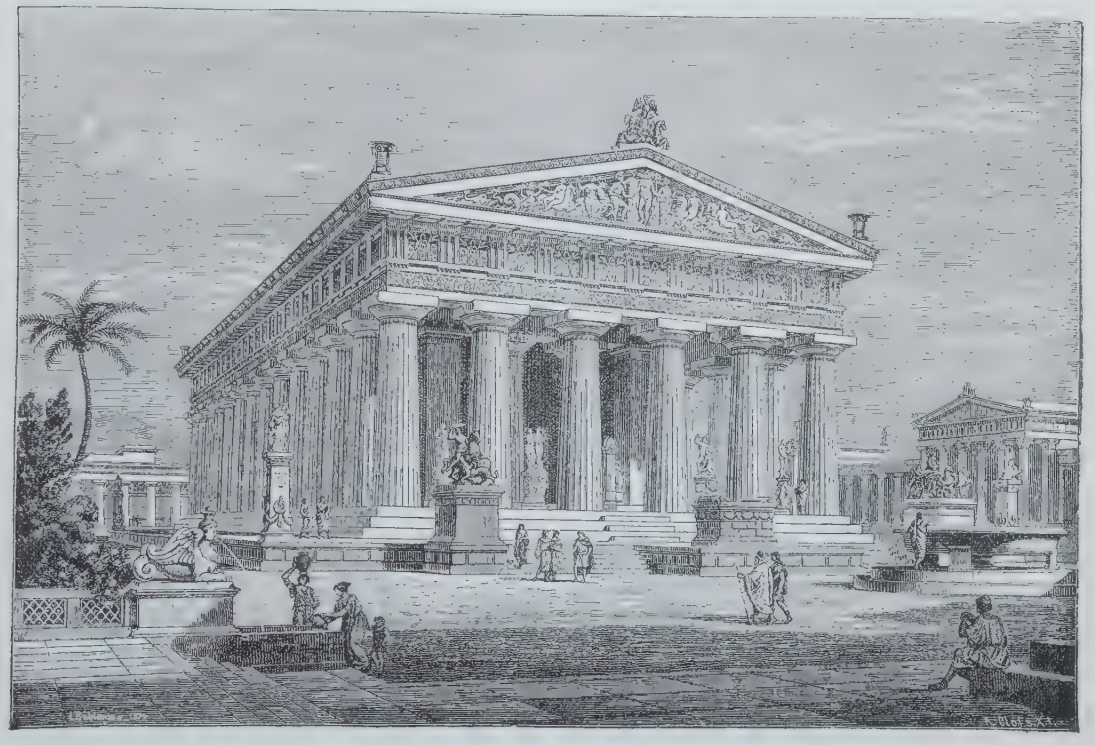
I do not mean to affirm that the description which I have given of the soul and her mansions is exactly true—a man of sense ought hardly to say that. But I do say that, inasmuch as the soul is shown to be immortal, he may venture to think, not improperly or unworthily, that something of the kind is true. The venture is a glorious one, and he ought to comfort himself with words like these, which is the reason why I lengthen out the tale. Wherefore, I say, let a man be of good cheer about his soul, who has cast away the pleasures and ornaments of the body as alien to him, and rather hurtful in their effects, and has followed after the pleasures of knowledge in this life; who has adorned the soul in her own proper jewels, which are temperance, and justice, and courage, and nobility, and truth—in these arrayed she is ready to go on her journey to the world below, when her time comes. You, Simmias and Cebes, and all other men, will depart at some time or other. Me already, as the tragic poet would say, the voice of fate calls. Soon I must drink the poison; and I think that I had better repair to the bath first, in order that the women may not have the trouble of washing my body after I am dead.

When he had done speaking, Crito said: And have you any commands for us, Socrates—anything to say about your children, or any other matter in which we can serve you?

Nothing particular, he said: only, as I have always told you, I would have you to look to yourselves; that is a service which you may always be doing to me and mine as well as to yourselves. And you need not make professions; for if you take no thought for yourselves, and walk not according to the precepts which I have given you, not now for the first time, the warmth of your professions will be of no avail.—"*Dialogues of Plato*," *translated by B. Jowett, I., p. 444.*

## 9. GREEK WORSHIP:—LOCAL INSTITUTIONS.

The earlier history of Greek worship discloses a point of view decidedly different from that of the Christian church, especially in its Protestant branches. We have not uncommonly suffered the idea of the religious community to fall into the background, in the emphasis that we have laid on the salvation of the individual. The earlier established worship of Greece was wholly a matter for the local community, or for such social groups as the family, the phratry, or the state. And when an individual sought help for his own needs, he naturally turned to the god of some



Temple of Poseidon, at Pæstum.

local sanctuary—the sanctuary where he might be, if away from home; if at home, the sanctuary of the family or state to which he belonged. Thus all worship centered about particular localities at which particular gods were thought to be present. (1) When one race displaced another, it brought the worship of its patron gods to the new locality, but at the same time it adopted from its forerunners there the shrines where they had worshiped. Each local shrine had its own forms of worship, its own priesthood, its own traditions of the gods there honored. Such local cults were the starting-point of Greek religion; they continued through all its growth to be the ground in which it was rooted; and when Christianity was introduced, some of these local gods were transformed into Christian saints, still to be worshiped under a new title.

The different stages in the history of Greek religion may best be understood from this standpoint. It began in the worship by wandering tribes of their patron gods; and as soon as a tribe became attached to any locality, the worship of its gods was also localized there. As intercourse developed between the different Greek tribes or races, these gods became more widely known. It was the province of civilization to unify the culture of all the elements which entered into it. Politically

it was attended by the rise of larger political groups, the early kingdoms of Greece; it tended to bring the gods also, as well as men, into one world—*e.g.*, to bring together heaven-gods into a *Zeus*, and herd-gods into an *Apollo*, the son of *Zeus*—so that the way was paved for the creation of the pantheon which appears in the Homeric poems. The life of historic Greece found expression in city-states, and the religious cults of a city shared all its progress and glory. *Athena* became, as we have seen, the exponent of the highest culture of Athens, and to her worship pilgrims gathered from all the Greek world. There remained, however, many heterogeneous elements in the nature of gods that had arisen thus, so that they were exposed to the criticism both of philosophy and of a developed religious sense. Greek religion could not rise out of itself. It brought to the religion which supplanted it a philosophy about God that reached far beyond any Greek god, and a sense of religious need that no Greek worship could satisfy.

The local shrine was very simple in its origin. In the Odyssey (IX., 197) we read of Maron, priest of *Apollo*, who frequented Ismaros, dwelling with his wife and child in the wooded grove of the god. (2) Chryses (Iliad, I., 36-42) served *Apollo Smintheus*, building temples to please him, and burning fat thighs of bulls and goats on his well-built altar at Chryse. (3) The oldest localities of worship were sacred spots, marked by an altar and often by a grove where a god was wont to be worshiped. The only priests mentioned in the Homeric poems conducted the worship at such local shrines.

In the historic period sacred precincts varied greatly in size and character. The whole Krisaean plain near Delphi was sacred to *Artemis*, *Leto*, and *Athena Pronaia*, and its cultivation was entirely forbidden. Or, again, the spot of sacred ground was scarcely more than large enough for a small chapel. Entrance into the sanctuary was fordidden to those who had not complied with the local requirements, and some places were entirely closed. (4) The more sacred spots were carefully marked, and often enclosed by a wall of stone. Rarely the sacred land was kept from cultivation; commonly it was cultivated and the rent derived from its use was devoted to the maintenance of the temple and its worship. Such leases were very carefully drawn up, and describe in detail the manner of cultivating the sacred land, of caring for its forest ground, and of keeping the sacred herds of cattle. From these sources, from tithes and other taxes levied by the state, and from gifts consecrated to the gods, the income of a shrine might become very large.

All that was necessary for worship was an altar. Before the dwelling house and often in each room was a sort of obelisk, on which fruit and incense were offered to the family gods; in the public squares, in the places of assembly, and on the acropolis stood altars to the gods of the city; the altar was the most important feature of the sacred precinct, and in the temple itself there might be a small altar for offerings that were not burned. The altars for offerings of fruits, flowers, cakes, etc., were small pillars, sometimes round, sometimes with paneled sides, and capable of high ornamentation. The altars for burnt offerings were still more various in character. One sacred altar at Olympia was a heap of ashes from former sacrifices, on top of which the thighs of new victims were burned. A pile of stones or a brick structure served as an altar at some sanctuaries, but often the structure was elaborate, with carved marble sides and architectural ornaments at the top. The great altar of Zeus at Pergamon was about forty feet high, and its sides were ornamented with a beautiful frieze representing the battle of the gods and giants.

The temple was situated on some spot already made sacred by worship, either on the acropolis of the city, or on some other site a little removed from the bustle of daily life. Only the more important cities had temples, and these varied in size from very small chapels to the great temple of *Artemis* at Ephesus. Approaching a temple from the east, and going up a flight of steps, the worshiper entered a hall enclosed only by pillars in front, from which opened the sanctuary proper, the *naos*

(Latin *cella*). Larger temples had also a back room, *opisthodomos*, opening from the opposite end, and they were surrounded by one or two rows of columns. The front room, *Pronaos*, was used for votive offerings, while in the *naos* stood the image of the god. At first this was a rude object of wood or stone, but later the best art of Greece gave expression to the Greek thought of its gods in marble or in bronze. In few instances, as in the Parthenon at Athens, the statue was constructed of gold, with ivory to represent the flesh parts.

It has been said that the temples existed more for the god than for man. Originally, they were built to protect the holy image and the treasure of the divinity; and while this continued to be their main object, they were always centers of worship, for in them was felt the presence of the god. The temple differs from the church in that there is no assembly room for worship. The great altar stood outside, and here the victims were slain and the thigh pieces burned. Meantime, however, the worshiper would visit the god in his temple, and the feast which was so important a part of worship was held about temple and altar in the sacred precinct.

In regard to priests, but one general statement holds true, viz., that they were public officials rather than sacred persons. Each shrine had its own regulations as to age, sex, and other characteristics of its priests. The priesthood might belong to a particular family, or it might be acquired by lot, by election, or even by purchase. Selection did not depend on purity of life or religious devotion, though certain sins might render a man ineligible. The office of course conferred a certain degree of sacredness on those who held it, but the priests were primarily the officials of the city or of the local shrine, whose duty it was to direct the worship there.

## 9. GREEK WORSHIP:—LOCAL INSTITUTIONS.

(1) **Deities Addressed at their Proper Localities.**—So said he, and Patroklos hearkened to his dear comrade, and led forth from the hut Briseis of the fair cheeks, and give them her to lead away. So these twain took their way back along the Achaians' ships, and with them went the woman all unwilling. Then Achilles wept anon, and sat him down apart, aloof from his comrades on the beach of the grey sea, gazing across the boundless main; he stretched forth his hands and prayed instantly to his dear mother: "Mother, seeing thou didst of a truth bear me 'to so brief span of life, honor at the least ought the Olympian to have granted me, even Zeus that thundereth on high; but now doth he not honor me, no, not one whit. Verily Atreus' son, wide-ruling Agamemnon, hath done me dishonor; for he hath taken away my meed of honor and keepeth her of his own violent deed."

So spake he weeping, and his lady mother heard him as she sate in the sea-depths beside her aged sire. With speed arose she from the grey sea, like a mist, and sate her before the face of her weeping son, and stroked him with her hand, and spake and called on his name: "My child, why weepest thou? What sorrow hath entered into thy heart? Speak it forth, hide it not in thy mind, that both may know it."—"*The Iliad of Homer*," *p. 12.*

So the twain went along the shore of the loud-sounding sea, making instant prayer to the earth-embracer, the Shaker of the Earth, that they might with ease prevail on Aiakides' great heart. —*Ibid, p. 166.*

And she was called Alkyone of her father and lady mother by surname in their hall, because her mother in the plight of the plaintive halcyon-bird wept when the far-darter Phoebus Apollo snatched her away. By her side lay Meleagros, brooding on his grievous anger, being wroth by reason of his mother's curses; for she, grieved for her brethren's death, prayed instantly to the gods, and with her hands likewise beat instantly upon the fertile earth, calling on Hades and dread Persephone, while she knelt upon her knees and made her bosom wet with tears, to bring her son to death; and Erinnys that walketh in darkness, whose heart knoweth not ruth, heard her from Erebos.—*Ibid, p. 178.*

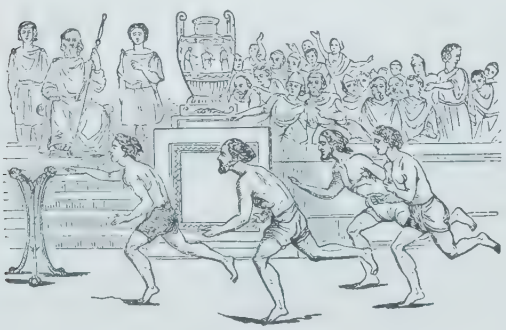
(2) **Maron, Priest of Apollo.**—Now I had with me a goatskin of the dark wine and sweet, which Maron, son of Euanthes, had given me, the priest of Apollo, the god that watched over Ismarus. And he gave it, for that we had protected him with his wife and child reverently; for he dwelt in a thick grove of Phoebus Apollo.—*Homer's "Odyssey," p. 140.*

(3) **Chryses, Priest of Apollo.**—So said he (Agamemnon), and the old man was afraid and obeyed his word, and fared silently along the shore of the loud-sounding sea. Then went that aged man apart and prayed aloud to King Apollo, whom Leto of the fair locks bore: "Here me, god of the silver bow, that standeth over Chryse and holy Killa, and rulest Tenedos with might, O Smintheus! If ever I built a temple gracious in thine eyes, or if ever I burnt to thee fat flesh of thighs of bulls or goats, fulfill thou this my desire; let the Danaans pay by thine arrows for my tears. —"*The Iliad of Homer*," *p. 2.*

(4) **Access to Temples.**—Voted! Not to permit any stranger to offer sacrifice in the Heraion; the neokaros is to see that this is enforced, and exclude them; if he does not, let him pay ten sacred drachmae each day to Hera. This note is to be inscribed before the doors, and the neokorai are to see that this is enforced.—"*Dittenberger Sylloge*," *p. 358.*

## 10. FORMS OF WORSHIP.

Religious worship in Greece was connected with certain specified days, as well with definite localities. The Athenians boasted that they were the most religious people of Greece because they observed more sacred days than any other people. Certain days of every month were sacred, the seventh to *Apollo*, the fifth to the *Erinyes*, if Hesiod's statement (Erg. 802) be true also of Athens, and the great festivals of the gods increased the number to approximately the number of holy days observed by the Christian church. In speaking of particular gods, we have mentioned some of the elements that entered into the worship of these days. Athletic games were a very ancient method of honoring the Greek gods, and the forms of the athlete were transferred to the types of the gods themselves. Music was a constant element in worship. Processions were accompanied by music, worship at the altar took the form of song and dance, the prayer that accompanied sacrifice was commonly a hymn of praise and supplication; even the contestants for prizes in music were often bound to sing or play in praise of the god. The drama was a development of *Dionysos*-worship, nor were its religious origin and meaning ever forgotten. Processions and splendid pageants were an important element in worship. They were an exhibition of the glory of the god, as well as an indication of man's desire to serve the god. The central point of worship, however, was the festal sacrifice.



Athletic Games.

It is a fair assumption that the pious Greeks recognized the gods whenever a domestic animal was slain for food. Certainly, when the farmer killed his own stock, he burned certain parts to the gods, just as at the great religious festivals animals were slain as a sacrifice, and parts of them were consumed by fire; and it is probable that the pious Athenian would have felt scruples about the use of flesh bought from a butcher had not similar rites been observed. (Such flesh was therefore "food offered to idols," I Cor. 8:4.) Thus it is true that the sacrifices were feasts, and also that at every feast the flesh had been in a sense consecrated to the gods. The religious occasions for sacrifice included, first, the recurring feasts of the gods; secondly, the fulfilment of vows made in time of danger, and thirdly, times when the help of the gods was specially needed, as before a battle or a journey. The animals chosen for the sacrifice must be in every way sound. Farther than this, the choice of the animal and its age depended on the particular god to whom it was offered, *Poseidon* preferring bulls, *Apollo* young lambs, *Athena* heifers, and *Dionysos* goats.

In preparation for the sacrifice the offerers clothed themselves in fresh garments and put on wreaths as for a feast, and the animals were adorned with flowers and garlands. The procession brought the animals, together with the implements of sacrifice, to the altar, barleycorns were scattered on the altar and on the animal, and a lock of the animal's hair was thrown into the flame. Meantime all present observed silence, while music of flutes accompanied the prayer-hymns to the gods. The animal's throat was cut—in the case of oxen, after they had been stunned by an axe or club—and the blood was either allowed to flow on the altar, or collected in a vessel and poured on the altar. Parts of the entrails were burned on the altar, with fat to help the flame; and after it was entirely cut up, the thigh bones, and in particular localities other parts also, were burned to the gods. All present joined

in pouring libations of wine on the altar to the music of hymns and of flutes. The remainder of the flesh was roasted and eaten by priests and offerers in sacrificial meal, with farther libations to the gods. On great festal occasions large numbers of victims were slain, and thus the worship culminated in a general feast to the gods. (1)

Other minor sacrifices may be briefly mentioned. Whenever men were eating or drinking, libations of wine mixed with water were poured out to the gods. In Homer we read many times of libation and prayer, especially before men set out on some important undertaking. Special libations also are offered to the dead and to the gods beneath the earth. In the simple worship of the household, flowers, fruits, and cakes are placed on altars for the gods. In spite of the general preference for animal victims, there were some shrines to which they would be a profanation, and at these men offered fruits or sacred cakes. Again, as the use of incense was introduced into Greece, and men enjoyed its fragrance in their own houses, it came to be used both at the feasts of the gods and in the regular temple ritual.

Sacrifice to Athena at a wedding.

Votive offerings, *anathemata*, form a class by themselves, to which the name sacrifice is not strictly applicable. They were devoted to a god in memory of some distinct blessing that had been received. The sick man, on regaining health, would dedicate an image of the part that had been diseased—a foot or an ear, it might be—and many of these offerings have been recovered by excavation. After returning from a journey, offerings were brought to the gods. Thus upon the successful return of the ten thousand, a sum of money was dedicated, a part of which Xenophon later used to found a shrine in Elis for the Ephesian Artemis. Trophies won in the games were often devoted to the gods; *e.g.*, the tripods received as prizes in the dramatic contests at Athens were set up as votive offerings. Slaves were dedicated to a divinity, to be his servants; later, this became a regular method for the manumission of slaves, in which cases they received the protection of the god, though no regular service was required of them. It was always customary to dedicate to a god small copies of his temple image, or of the animal that was his symbol, however we may interpret this usage. Finally, the *anathemata* included religious taxes, or revenues which were dedicated by states to their patron divinities.

It is not always easy to determine the religious content of this worship. Votive offerings are the simplest to explain, for clearly they express the worshiper's desire to honor the god by a gift, just as a subject would honor his king by bringing him a gift of value. Libations, cakes, fruits, etc., were also gifts, not valuable in them-

selves, but nevertheless the correct offering when ancient custom declared that they were what the god wanted then and there of his servant. The last statement applies equally to all sacrifices; viz., they were the right way to express one's desire to honor the god, because they were the way prescribed by tradition. Nevertheless we can analyze somewhat more closely the religious sentiment expressed in the sacrificial feast. The banquet still binds together those who share it, so that it is used by all sorts of associations to arouse a sentiment of union; and among many races this bond has in itself something sacred. Moreover, the banquet has a direct effect on the disposition, which we express by saying that it kindles "good feeling." The physical stimulus of meat and wine is very powerful on human nature. The sacrificial banquet bound Greek worshipers together, and awakened on each occasion a new feeling of union with one another and with the god they worshiped. It was the god who gave the banquet to entertain his worshipers; he was himself present at the sacrifice, so that those who shared it gained a sense of communion with him. The very physical stimulus of the banquet was utilized to produce religious feeling. It was combined, however, with other stimuli, which prevented the sentiment from becoming gross or material.

The splendid procession, solemnly bearing the image or some symbol of the god, the music on some theme consecrated by long use in worship, the artistic surroundings of the perfect temple and statue embodying religious ideals in form for the eye to see them—all these combined to stir the aesthetic nature of this people and to give fitting expression to the feelings which they aroused. The study of Greek worship indicates clearly that religion appealed to the artistic side of the Greek nature, and that it met any reaching toward God by the perfect forms of its manifold art.

## 10. FORMS OF WORSHIP.

(1) **Sacrifice to Athena.**—For truly this is none other of those who keep the mansions of Olympos, save only the daughter of Zeus, the driver of the spoil, the maiden Trito-born, she that honored thy good father too among the Argives. Nay, be gracious, Queen, and vouchsafe a goodly fame to me, even to me and my sons and to my wife revered. And I in turn will sacrifice to thee a yearling heifer, broad of brow, unbroken, which man never yet hath led beneath the yoke. Such an one will I offer to thee, and gild her horns with gold.

Thus he spake, and lo, they all hastened to the work. The heifer she came from the field, and from the swift, gallant ship came the company of the great-hearted Telemachus; the smith came holding in his hands his tools, the instruments of his craft, anvil and hammer and well-made pincers, wherewith he wrought the gold; Athene, too, came to receive her sacrifice. And the old knight Nestor gave gold, and the other fashioned it skillfully, and gilded therewith the horns of the heifer, that the goddess might be glad at the sight of her fair offering. And Stratius and goodly Echephron led the heifer by the horns. And Aretus came forth from the chamber bearing water for the washing of hands in a basin of flowered work, and in the other hand he held the barley meal in a basket; and Thrasymedes, steadfast in the battle, stood by, holding in his hand a sharp axe, ready to smite the heifer. And Perseus held the dish for the blood, and the old man Nestor, driver of chariots, performed the first rite of the washing of hands and the sprinkling of the meal, and he prayed instantly to Athene as he began the rite, casting into the fire the lock from the head of the victim.

Now, when they had prayed and tossed the sprinkled grain, straightway the son of Nestor, gallant Thrasymedes, stood by and struck the blow; and the axe severed the tendons of the neck and loosened the might of the heifer; and the women raised their cry, the daughters, and the sons' wives, and the wife revered of Nestor, Eurydice, eldest of the daughters of Clymenus. And now they lifted the victim's head from the wide-wayed earth, and held it so, while Peisistratus, leader of men, cut the throat. And after the black blood had gushed forth and the life had left the bones, quickly they broke up the body, and anon cut slices from the thighs all duly, and wrapt the same in the fat, folding them double, and laid raw flesh thereon. So that old man burnt them on the cleft wood, and poured over them the red wine, and by his side the young men held in their hands the five-pronged forks. Now, after that the thighs were quite consumed, and they had tasted the inner parts, they cut the rest up small and spitted and roasted it, holding the sharp spits in their hands.

Meanwhile she bathed Telemachus, even fair Polycaste, the youngest daughter of Nestor, son of Neleus. And after she had bathed him and anointed him with olive oil, and cast about him a goodly mantle and a doublet, he came forth from the bath in fashion like the deathless gods. So he went and sat him down by Nestor, shepherd of the people.

Now, when they had roasted the outer flesh, and drawn it off the spits, they sat down and fell to feasting, and honorable men waited on them, pouring wine into the golden cups. But when they had put from them the desire of meat and drink, Nestor of Gerenia, lord of chariots, first spake among them.—*Homer's "Odyssey," pp. 43-4-6.*

## 11. WORSHIP IN TIME OF NEED.

Nowhere is the objective character of Greek religion more apparent than in its attitude toward sin. The normal worship that has just been considered has been called *mechanical* because it proceeds on the supposition that, if man offers food and other objects to the gods, then the gods will grant him prosperity; it may more truly be called *social*, in that theoretically man honors the gods as he would honor a human ruler, and regards divine blessings and the divine rule as he would regard the rule of a righteous king. If, however, the student uses the word social, he should not forget that the social relations between man and god in Greece must be conceived as far broader and far more intimate than those between man and any human king.

In such a religion it is impossible that the sense of sin should occupy a fundamental place. It was not indeed difficult or unusual for men to incur the displeasure of the gods. But what impressed the Greek was the judicial side of the matter, the fact that disaster followed wrong-doing as its penalty. (1) No stress was laid on repentance; the Greek gods found no satisfaction in extreme self-humiliation; the wrong was conceived as in the outward act, not so much in the disposition from which the act sprang, so that the only remedy lay in the practice of certain outward rites by which at length divine favor might be regained.

Niobe.

The origin and motives of wrong-doing were carefully analyzed in Greek poetry. (2) It was the presumption of Agamemnon that incurred the wrath of *Artemis*, his ambition which led him to appease her wrath by the sacrifice of his daughter that he might lead the expedition against Troy. The ambition and lust of Aigisthos led him to marry Agamemnon's wife and to slay the king on his return. Pride, becoming presumption, brought severe penalty on such heroes of Greek legend as Marsyas and Niobe. The two great moral thoughts of Greek tragedy are: that sin breeds sin as its penalty; (3) and that laws sometimes conflict so that the observance of higher law makes one subject to the penalty of another law (*cf.* Orestes, Antigone).

Thus the supplicant did not pray for forgiveness of inward guilt, but sought immunity from the penalty of sin in the same spirit that he asked the divine help in evils which he had done nothing to bring on himself. Of the rites by which individuals sought to soothe the anger of the gods and escape disaster we know but little. When in peril at sea or in battle, men sought protecting favor by vows of sacrifices to be paid if they survived. Before a journey they sacrificed to *Hermes*, the traveler's god, and to their own family gods, to prevent disaster. In sickness they vowed sacrifices to some patron deity or hero, or had sacrifices performed in their behalf to some god of healing, such as *Paian* or *Asklepios*.

Sophocles gives us a picture of the rites by which a city sought relief from the plague. (4) An embassy is sent to Delphi to learn what should be done, and meantime processions kindle sacrifices on all the altars of the city. In time of extreme need even human sacrifices were practiced, though rarely, in the hope that the anger of the gods might be satisfied by one victim instead of many. It was the regular practice to offer sacrifices before battle and before an expedition set out from home, and the will of the god was ascertained from the appearance of the victim. The victims for sacrifice in time of calamity or of peril were not always domestic

animals, as in the case of ordinary sacrifices, but dogs, asses, wild animals, and birds were also occasionally offered. Nor was the ritual of sacrifice the same; for apparently libations were omitted, the animal was slain in a slightly different manner, and its body was completely burned. At such times men could not seek communion with the gods, but by peculiar sacrifices sought to avert their wrath.

These sacrifices were offered not only to the great gods that ordinarily protected a city, but particularly to the special gods of each locality—the gods closely connected with the soil, and the so-called heroes. The gods of the soil were worshiped mainly by the peasantry, and often represented an older type of deity than the Olympian gods of the ruling classes. To the peculiar rites of such worship men turned in time of need, when the customary forms did not seem efficacious. The *hero* may be defined as a god worshiped only in a limited locality, and with no place among the Olympian gods of mythology. Often they too were old gods whose worship continued only in one place, so that they were reduced to the rank of local spirits. The myths about some of these gods were taken up in the Greek epic, where the term hero (*herōs*) had something of its English meaning; the general use of the term, however, in literature as well as in religion, had to do simply with local divinities. The worship of heroes filled a large place in practical religion. Not that cities celebrated great feasts in their honor, though such was sometimes the case, but for a smaller group of worshipers the hero was more of a real divinity than were the gods themselves. Calamity was attributed to the anger of some hero who had been neglected; and on the other hand, special blessings were expected from their favor. Like the saints of Europe, they stood much nearer the worshiper than the great state gods; they sympathized better with his needs, and so he paid them a truer worship.

Sophocles.

Closely related in form to the sacrifices in time of need (*sphagia*), which have just been considered, were the rites of purification for murder and for sacrilege. In the Homeric poems there is no trace of these sacrifices. In later times the murderer must flee out of the land, and, unless the murder were accidental, he could never return. If, however, the act were unintentional, he must first seek purification in a foreign land. The man who conducted the rites slew some animal, preferably a young pig, and applied its blood to the murderer, after which its body was burned and other sacrifices were offered to the gods. Before engaging in certain religious rites, *e.g.*, in the mysteries celebrated at Eleusis, it was also necessary for the individual to purify himself with the blood of a young pig. In contrast with this, the impurity which came from contact with the dead required only ceremonial washings to set it aside.

If it were a city that demanded purification, the rites were far more complex. It was first necessary to remove the cause of impurity, as the graves were all removed from the island of Delos, or again as the Alkmaionidai were all driven from Athens before the city could be purified from their sacrilegious act. In the latter instance, we read, the next step was to bring black and white sheep to the altars where the sacrilegious murders had been committed; there they were released, and wherever one lay down it was sacrificed on the spot to the god in whose precinct it was. A human sacrifice is also mentioned by some writers. By these means the city was purified and the plague was stayed.

Thus by water and by blood, as in special cases by different herbs or by burning sulphur, the taint of evil was removed, and men might again expect favor from the gods.

## 11. WORSHIP IN TIME OF NEED.

### (1) Sin Punished by Erinyes.

Come, then, let us form our chorus;
Since 'tis now our will to utter
Melody of song most hateful,
Telling how our band assigneth
All the lots that fall to mortals;
And we boast that we are righteous;
Not on one who pure hands lifteth
Falleth from us any anger,
But his life he passeth scatheless;
But to him who sins like this man,
And his blood-stained hands concealeth,
Witnesses of those who perish,
Coming to exact blood-forfeit,
We appear to work completeness.
—"*Tragedies of Aeschylos*," *p. 309.*

### (2) Divine Law and Human Pride.

STROPHE. I.

*Chorus.* O that 'twere mine to keep
An awful purity,
In words and deeds whose laws on high are set
Through heaven's clear æther spread,
Whose birth Olympos boasts,
Their one, their only sire,
Whom man's frail flesh begat not,
Nor in forgetfulness
Shall lull to sleep or death;
In them our God is great,
In them he grows not old for evermore.

ANTISTROPHE. I.

But pride begets the mood
Of wanton, tyrant power;
Pride filled with many thoughts, yet filled in vain,
Untimely, ill-advised,
Scaling the topmost height,
Falls to the abyss of woe,
Where step that profiteth
It seeks in vain to take.
I ask our God to stay
The labors never more
That work our country's good;
I will not cease to call on God for aid.

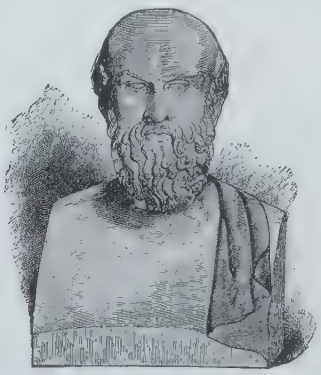
STROPHE. II.

But if there be who walketh haughtily,
In action or in speech,
Whom Righteousness herself has ceased to awe,
Who shrines of Gods reveres not,
An evil fate be his
(Fit meed for all his evil boastfulness),
Unless he gain his gains more righteously,
And draweth back from deeds of sacrilege,
Nor lays rash hand upon the holy things,
By man inviolable:
Who now, if such things be,
Will boast that he can guard
His soul from darts of wrath?
If deeds like these are held in high repute,
What profit is't for me
To raise my choral strain?

ANTISTROPHE. II.

No longer will I go in pilgrim's guise,
To yon all holy place,
Earth's central shrine, nor Abæ's temple old,
Nor to Olympia's fane,
Unless these things shall stand
In sight of all men, tokens clear from God.
But, O thou sovereign Ruler! if that name,
O Zeus, belongs to thee, who reign'st o'er all,
Let not this trespass hide itself from thee,
Or thine undying sway;
For now they set at nought
The worn-out oracles,
That Laos heard of old,
And king Apollo's wonted worship flags,
And all to wreck is gone
The homage due to God.
—"*Tragedies of Sophocles*," *pp. 32-34.*

(3) **Sin Breeds Sin.**—Laos begets a son contrary to the command of the oracle, and this son slays his father and marries his mother, which sin of Oedipus bears fruit in the conflicts of his sons, till his house is overthrown.



Aeschylos.

### (4) Supplicatory Rites.

*Œdipus.* Why sit ye here, my children, youngest brood
Of Cadmos famed of old, in solemn state,
Your hands thus wreathèd with the suppliants' boughs?
And all the city reeks with incense smoke,
And all re-echoes with your hymns and groans;
And I, my children, counting it unmeet
To hear report from others, I have come
Myself, whom all name Œdipus the Great—
Do thou, then, agèd Sire, since thine the right
To speak for these, tell clearly how ye stand,
In terror or submission; speak to me
As willing helper. Heartless should I be
To see you prostrate thus, and feel no ruth.
*Priest.* Yea, Œdipus, thou ruler of my land,
Thou seest our age, who sit as suppliants, bowed
Around thine altars, some as yet too weak
For distant flight, and some weighed down with age,
Priest, I, of Zeus, and these the chosen youth:
And in the market-places of the town
The people sit and wail with wreath in hand,
By the two shrines of Pallas, or the grave,
Where still the seer Ismenos prophesies.
For this our city, as thine eyes may see,
Is sorely tempest-tossed, nor lifts its head
From out the surging see of blood-flecked waves
All smitten in the ripening blooms of earth,
All smitten in the herds that graze the fields,
Yea, and in timeless births of woman's fruit;
And still the God, fire-darting Pestilence,
As deadliest foe, upon our city swoops,
And desolates the home where Cadmos dwelt,
And Hades dark grows rich in sighs and groans.
—*Ibid., pp. 3-4.*

## 12. CONCLUSION:—GENERAL CHARACTER OF GREEK RELIGION, AND ITS PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.

It is the work of religion to explain the world in its spiritual meaning as science explains it from the purely intellectual side.

In the first place, Greek religion furnished a spiritual interpretation of nature. The nature side of most of the greater gods has been so obscured that we cannot be confident what it was; indeed, in many instances, we cannot be quite sure that they ever did represent powers of nature. We do know, however, that the Greek peopled all nature with spiritual beings; the hills and the woods, the rivers, the sea, the winds he regarded as the expression, in each instance, of a life like his own, only superior. Thus he felt a kinship between all that was useful, beautiful, wonderful, terrible, in nature and his own spirit. The world was made intelligible and human by religion; to use the happy phrase of a recent writer, religion made man at home in the world. In such a world not only could his mind work freely and use the objects of nature with confidence, but the spiritual side of his nature could also expand. For the Greek gods were not merely personified powers of nature, but full and complete persons, with the emotions and passions of man, so that a broad spiritual relation connected them with man. Man felt himself also to be a part of nature, and the deification of his own powers—his love in *Aphrodite*, his intellect in *Athena*, his warlike impetuosity in *Ares*—contributed farther to "make him at home in the world."

Secondly, Greek religion met man's needs directly by creating beings which watched over particular phases of his life and activity. *Sosipolis*, *Orthopolis*, *Alalkomeneis* were "city-protecting divinities"; *Auxesia*, *Phytos*, *Phorbas*, gods of growth, as *Erichthonios*, "earth-breaker," was a god of ploughing; *Mylas*, *Himalis*, *Alphito* were named from the grinding of the wheat, *Iatros* and *Paian* from their aid in healing; *Taraxippos* kept the charioteer's horses from fright, and *Telesidromos* brought them speedily to the goal of the race. Such gods find no distinct place in the Greek pantheon, although as *Kourotrophos*, "child-nurturer," became one phase of *Demeter's* being, so many of these special gods were in a manner taken up into the great gods of Greece. And these gods, like the divinities of nature, furnished an environment for the development of man's spiritual nature.

Thirdly, the social order was reflected in the world of the gods. All the elements of civilization and of culture were taken up into the Greek gods, so that they became the embodiment of all that was truly Greek, the concrete expression of the excellencies, and the faults also, of Greek life. The gods were so closely connected with the state that patriotism received the sanction of religion; art and literature became all but religious modes of expression; and at length philosophy made the daring attempt to re-create the gods—an attempt that was logical enough, for the gods were what man had made them, but yet it was necessarily all-destructive. The result of the intimate relation between Greek culture and the Greek gods was a peculiar sympathy between god and worshiper. Greek religion not only brought order into the world, but this order was along the lines of every-day Greek life, and it responded to every act of the individual, intellectual, aesthetic, or distinctly religious. As the natural world developed the body and the senses, so the divine world was a home for man's spirit.

With all its beauty and all its harmony with Greek culture, Greek religion had many weaknesses. In fact, its chief weakness lay along the very line of its strength. The gods were so truly Greek that they copied the frailties of the Greek nature all too well; these ideals of generous, beautiful life lacked the moral fibre of a sterner race; moreover, Greek religion was rooted in the past, so that popular worship, holding to traditional rites, could not rise to the idea of the gods which it had itself suggested. At length it could no longer satisfy religious thought and the needs of

the religious life, so that the time was fully ripe for the introduction of Christianity.

Greek religion fulfilled its mission and in large measure disappeared. Estimated historically: 1. It prepared the way for the introduction of Christianity; 2. Its sacred places and sacred rites exercised a direct influence on Christianity; and 3. It offered a permanent contribution to the development of religion.

I. When Christian missionaries came preaching that the world was lost in wickedness, and that men needed salvation (*sōtēria*) both for this life and for the life to come, it was a familiar message to their Greek hearers. Earnest minds in Greece had been seeking just this *sōtēria* for centuries. A sense of spiritual need had been developed which neither Greek religion nor Greek art nor Greek philosophy could entirely satisfy; and what the Greeks had ignorantly sought, that Christianity declared unto them. A conception of God had been wrought out that was infinitely beyond any Greek god; poets and philosophers entertained a firmly-rooted belief in the righteous government of the universe and in a moral law at its foundation; Greek worship taught men to look to the gods for communion and sympathy only to disappoint them, for their gods were not equal to what men sought in them. These needs and these ideals were met by Christianity, and the new religion found a rich soil in the remains of an earlier growth.

Ruins of the Temple of Victory, Athens.

II. Although Greek religion disappeared, many features of it remained and were taken up into Christianity. Many local shrines were consecrated to the use of Christianity. The very Parthenon became at length a Christian church. Heroes and gods of local worship in many instances continued to be, and still are, worshiped as Christian saints. Some of the old feasts and processions, especially the processions by which help was sought in time of need, became consecrated to Christian use. The old mystery rites were consistently fought by Christian leaders, but we can see that before they entirely disappeared the Christian sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper had come to be celebrated somewhat as the mysteries were celebrated, simply because the mysteries had done so much to define the ideas of solemn ritual for the Greek mind. Thus there were many threads of connection between the old worship and the new. (1)

III. Certain phases of religion were developed in Greece more perfectly than they had been developed before, and the modern world still has something to learn from Greece along this line: *a.* Greece developed the human side of religion to a high degree. Human experiences were reflected in the divine world so that men might feel a peculiar sympathy with their gods. The gods were in closest touch with human life in all its phases. Their life was in the life of men; the work of the farmer and the smith, the experiences of the traveler by land or sea, the daily life of the market, the activity of the state—all this was the sphere of Greek religion. It made all of life brighter and better by lending to it a spiritual side. This was not peculiar to Greek religion, but it was attained by Greek religion perhaps better than

by any other. *b.* In Greece the aesthetic side of religion was developed more perfectly than anywhere else. The type of divine life, like the type of human life, was formed according to an aesthetic standard. A fine sense for beauty, harmony, and proportion was idealized in religion, and through the medium of religion it worked the more effectively upon human life. Religious rites were moulded by the same Greek spirit, and much of their power lay in their appeals to the sense for beauty. A religion of beauty helped to make life beautiful; Christianity is indebted to Greece for what we have learned and what we may yet learn from that development of religion on the aesthetic side.

## 12. GENERAL CHARACTER OF GREEK RELIGION, &c.

**(1) Greek Influence on the Christian Sacraments.**—The first point of change is the change of *name*.

So early as the time of Justin Martyr we find a name given to baptism which comes straight from the Greek mysteries—the name "enlightenment" (φωτισμός, φωτίζεσθαι). It came to be the constant techical term.

The name "seal" (σφραγίς), which also came both from the mysteries and from some forms of foreign cult, was used partly of those who had passed the tests and who were "consignati," as Tertullian calls them, partly of those who were actually sealed upon the forehead in sign of a new ownership.

The term μυστήριον is applied to baptism, and with it comes a whole series of technical terms unknown to the Apostolic Church, but well known to the mysteries, and explicable only through ideas and usages peculiar to them. Thus we have words expressive either of the rite or act of initiation, like μύησις, τελετή, τελείωσις, μυσταγωγία; of the agent or minister, like μυσταγωγός; of the subject, like μυσταγωγούμενος, μεμυημένος, μυηθείς, or, with reference to the unbaptized, ἀμύητος. In this terminology we can more easily trace the influence of the mysteries than of the New Testament.

The second point is the change of *time*, which involves a change of *conception*. Instead of baptism being given immediately upon conversion, it came to be in all cases postponed by a long period of preparation, and in some cases deferred until the end of life. The Christians were separated into two classes, those who had and those who had not been baptized. And Basil gives the custom of the mysteries as a reason for the absence of the catechumens from the service. As if to show conclusively that the change was due to the influence of the mysteries, baptized persons were, as we have seen, distinguished from unbaptized by the very term which was in use for the similar distinction in regard to the mysteries—initiated and uninitiated, and the minister is μυσταγωγός, and the persons being baptized are μυσταγωγούμενοι.

The full development or translation of the idea is found in the great mystical writer of the fifth century (Dionysius the Areopagite), in whom every Christian ordinance is expressed in terms which are applicable only to the mysteries. The extreme tendency which he shows is perhaps personal to him; but he was in sympathy with his time, and his influence on the Church of the after-time must count for a large factor in the history of Christian thought. There are few Catholic treatises on the Eucharist and few Catholic manuals of devotion into which his conceptions do not enter.

I will here quote his description of the Communion itself: "All the other initiations are incomplete without this. The consummation and crown of all the rest is the participation of him who is initiated in the thearchic mysteries. For though it be the common characteristic of all the hierarchic acts to make the initiated partakers of the divine light, yet this alone imparted to me the vision through whose mystic light, as it were, I am guided to the contemplation (ἐποψίαν) of the other sacred things." The ritual is then described. The sacred bread and the cup of blessing are placed upon the altar. "Then the sacred hierarch (ἱεράρχης) initiates the sacred prayer and announces to all the holy peace; and after all have saluted each other, the mystic recital of the sacred lists is completed. The hierarch and the priests wash their hands in water; he stands in the midst of the divine altar, and around him stand the priests and the chosen ministers. The hierarch sings the praises of the divine working and consecrates the most divine mysteries (ἱερουργεῖ τὰ θειότατα), and by means of the symbols which are sacredly set forth he brings into open vision the things of which he sings the praises. And when he has shown the gifts of the divine working, he himself comes into a sacred communion with them, and then invites the rest. And having both partaken and given to the others a share in the thearchic communion, he ends with a sacred thanksgiving; and while the people bend over what are divine symbols only, he himself, always by the thearchic spirit, is led in a priestly manner, in purity of his godlike frame of mind (ἐν καθαρότητι τῆς θεοειδοῦς ἕξεως), through blessed and spiritual contemplation, to the holy realities of the mysteries."

Thus the whole conception of Christian worship was changed. But it was changed by the influence upon Christian worship of the contemporary worship of the mysteries and the concurrent cults. The tendency to an elaborate ceremonial which had produced the magnificence of those mysteries and cults, and which had combined with the love of a purer faith and the tendency towards fellowship, was based upon a tendency of human nature which was not crushed by Christianity. It rose to a new life, and, though it lives only by a survival, it lives that new life still. In the splendid ceremonial of Eastern and Western worship, in the blaze of lights, in the separation of the central point of the rite from common view, in the procession of torch-bearers chanting their sacred hymns, there is the survival, and in some cases the galvanized survival, of what I cannot find it in my heart to call a *pagan* ceremonial; because, though it was the expression of a less enlightened faith, yet it was offered to God from a heart that was not less earnest in its search for God and in its effort after holiness than our own.—*E. Hatch, "The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church," pp. 295-7, 303-4, and 309.*

## SECOND WEEKLY REVIEW.

7. **DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE.**—The goddess of agriculture, The Homeric hymn to Demeter, Worship at Eleusis, Its rapid development, Demeter the mother goddess.
8. **DEVELOPMENT OF BELIEF IN THE FUTURE LIFE.**—Contrast of savage and Homeric view, Forms of burial at Athens, Hero ancestors, The new belief in the future.
9. **GREEK WORSHIP.**—Local institutions, Importance of the local shrine, Stages in the history of Greek religion, The sacred precinct, The altar, The temple, Priests.
10. **FORMS OF WORSHIP.**—Sacred days, Elements of worship, The sacrificial feast, Libations, Votive offerings, Religious content of this worship.
11. **WORSHIP IN TIME OF NEED.**—Relation of god and man, Greek sense of sin, Rites for relief, Heroes, Rites of purification.
12. **CONCLUSION. GENERAL CHARACTER OF GREEK RELIGION, AND ITS PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.**—Greek religion furnishes a spiritual interpretation of nature; created gods that watched over man's special needs; social order reflected in world of the gods. It prepared the way for the introduction of Christianity; its rites influenced Christian worship; it made a permanent contribution to the history of religion.

## QUESTIONS.

7. *What is the relation of Demeter to the earth? To the grain? Give the story of Demeter and Persephone in the Homeric hymn. How may we use the hymn as evidence for the worship of Eleusis? What were some of the scenes represented in the mystic drama? What religious effect did this have on the spectators? Account for the rapid growth in importance of the mysteries. What were the three important phases of Demeter worship?*

8. *What is the belief as to the future among uncivilized races? What is the ordinary epic view of the future life? What traces of soul-worship are found in the epic? Why has soul-worship so little prominence in the epic? Describe the form of burial at Athens. What is the meaning of the ceremonies? Did the worship of hero-ancestors arise from soul-worship? What influence on the belief as to the future did the worship of hero-ancestors have? What is the new belief as to the future, and what its probable source?*

9. *What is the connection between religious and social groups in Greece? What is the importance of localities in determining worship? Describe the different stages in the development of Greek religion. What is the origin of the local shrine? What forms did it assume in historic times? How was sacred land used? Describe Greek altars. What were the essential features of the Greek temple? How was it used? How did the Greek priesthood differ from most other priesthoods?*

10. *What was the Greek substitute for the Sabbath? What different elements entered into worship? Was animal food always connected with a sacrifice? What were occasions of sacrifice? On what did the choice of the animal depend? Describe the preparations for a sacrifice, and the forms of the sacrifice itself? How were libations used? How did incense come to be used? What was the importance and meaning of votive offerings? What was the religious meaning of the sacrificial meal?*

11. *Describe the normal relation between a man and his god. How did the Greek notion of sin differ from ours? What were some of the motives to which sin was traced? What did the individual do to escape the results of sin? What did a city do under the same circumstances? What was the place of hero-worship in Greek religion? How did the hero of the epic differ from the hero that was worshiped? What called for purification, and by what means were men purified?*

12. *What was the relation between the greater Greek gods and nature? What was the effect of nature-gods in determining man's relation to nature? Describe the gods who presided over special functions? What is the relation between Greek civilization and the Greek gods? What are some of the weaknesses of the Greek gods? In what three ways did Greek religion influence the later development of religion directly? How far did Greek rites influence Christian worship? What is meant when we call Greek religion an aesthetic form of religion?*

## SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *How far can the parallel between Persephone and the seedcorn be carried? Trace the history of the mother ideal from Greek religion into Christianity.*

2. *What is the effect of belief in the greater gods on the belief in the supernatural power of souls? (Cf. American Journal of Theology, July, 1897, "Conception of the Future Life in Homer.")*

3. *What ought to be the influence of a sacred place on worship? What was the result for Greek religion of its conception of the priest?*

4. *What was the character of the relation between god and man which was cultivated by Greek worship?*

5. *Read the Agamemnon of Aeschylos or the Oedipus the King of Sophocles, and formulate the conception of sin which you find expressed.*

6. *How far does religious worship utilize aesthetic helps today? How far ought it to use them? Should those elements which Christianity adopted from Greek religion and Greek thought be weeded out or retained?*

Ruins of Tombs on the Appian Way, near Rome.

# THE ROMAN RELIGION.

BY

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## 13. THE GODS OF HEAVEN.

THE Romans, like all their kindred races, inherited from their Indo-Germanic forefathers the germs out of which their own religion grew; nature-worship, ancestor-worship, animism, totemism—all were there, developed in Italy's peculiar way and involved in Rome's minute legal ritualism. While the Greek religion, in accordance with the character of the people, developed in the direction of beauty, poetry, art, humanity, the Roman religion, in accordance with the character of that people, developed in the direction of the practical and formal, of law and politics. The old Roman was wholly lacking in poetry and imagination; he was too serious, too devoted to "business"; and so, while we have a distinctively Roman religion, we have no Roman theogony, cosmogony, or mythology, until these were imported from Greece. (1)

The Romans distinguished their own divinities as Gods of Heaven, Gods of Earth, and Gods of the Underworld, and in that order let us consider them.

The Romans had originally no system of (twelve) Great Gods; and when we find such a system formulated, it is due to Greek influence. The first mention of Twelve Great Gods in Italy was contained in the Sybilline Books; and even in Greece such a grouping is comparatively late, for it is not known in Homer. From the precedence of the different priests in Rome we discover that the greatest deities were, in the order of rank, *Janus*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Quirinus*, *Vesta;* and so the general form for prayers begins with *Janus* and ends with *Vesta*. According to that, the highest god of Rome was originally not *Jupiter*, but *Janus*. This old Sun-god, as his name (derived, like *Dyaus*, *Zeus* and *Jupiter*, from *div*, "to shine") implies, was originally the Bright One; he was the "Oldest god," the "Beginning of All Things," the "Creator." In the form of prayers he is named before *Jupiter*, the Father of Lights, the Bright Sky. But these two were in nature and being so closely akin that the one must in time yield to the other; and so when *Janus* became supplanted in part by his great rival, *Jupiter*, as the protector of united Rome, he passed into story as the first king of Italy, the beginning of Italian history and tradition, while *Jupiter*, as *Optimus Maximus*, "the Highest and Best," continued as the center of the Roman state religion.

The female counterpart of *Janus* was *Jana* (identical with *Diana*, likewise from *div*, "to shine"), the great light of the night. *Janus* and *Jana*, *Jupiter* and *Juno*, *Saturnus* and *Ops*, *Mars* and *Vesta*, *Faunus* and *Vedius*—these were the original greater gods of the Romans. (2) After the union with the Sabines, there were added the gods of the Sabines: *Quirinus*, *Sancus*, *Sol*, *Luna*, *Flora*, *Minerva* (who was only the "function" of *thinking*), and a host of abstractions like *Fortuna*, "Fortune," *Fama*, "Fame," *Fides*, "Faith," etc. From the time of Tarquin on, the three gods of the Capitoline were grouped into a great trinity, *Jupiter*, *Optimus Maximus*, *Juno* and *Minerva*, corresponding to the Homeric trinity, *Zeus*, *Apollo* and *Athena*.

Gods unmodifiedly Roman in almost every feature, and suggestive of the simple old agricultural life, were *Mars* and *Vesta*. *Mars* (*mar*, "shine, be bright"), the god of the spring-time, to whom March and April were sacred, a sun-god like the Greek *Apollo*, whose influence was now blissful, now baleful, was a great tribal god of primeval Italy, patron of agriculture, herding, colonization, war, and with the Capitoline trinity the real national god of Rome. The Latin *Mars*, with his cult upon the Palatine, was identical with the Sabine *Quirinus*, whose temple adorned the Quirinal; but when *Quirinus* became identified with Romulus, he sank into the rank of a demigod subordinate to *Mars;* and when the Hellenizing came, *Mars* was identified with *Ares*, *Quirinus* with *Enyalius*.

Fame.

His female counterpart was *Venus*, "the Lovely," the goddess of the springtime, of the gardens, of the starting buds and flowers, and the promise of fruits and increase; her later development into the goddess of feminine charms, of love and pleasure, and her identification with Aphrodite, were quite natural.

But even more deeply rooted in the patriotic hearts of the people was the worship of *Vesta*. As *Vulcan* was usually the wild, untamed, destructive power of fire, so *Vesta* (*vas*, "burn," not *vas*, "to dwell") was the beneficent, civilizing force of fire—the fundamental principal of the home life. She is the goddess of purity, and purity was the essence of her cult; and she, with (*Vulcan*) the *Lares* and *Penates*, makes up the circle of the home gods whose altar was the hearth and to whom the family prayers were addressed.

In the case of some of their gods the Romans purposely concealed their names; in the case of all the greater gods the names are so mysterious that we can gain but little help from them: *e.g.*, *Janus* and *Jana*, *Jupiter* and *Juno*, are simply "the Bright, the Heavenly Ones;" *Faunus* and *Fauna* (**fav*, "*favor*"), "the Good, the Kindly Ones." (2) With such indefiniteness and impersonality it is no wonder that the whole theology was so readily Hellenized. The god's nature was expressed only when he received an epithet or "by-name": *Jupiter Tonans* (*the thunderer*), *Jupiter Victor*, *Jupiter Stator*, *Imperator*, *Triumphator*, *Urbis Custos* (*guardian of the city*), and three hundred more by which *Jupiter* is characterized rather than understood.

All these greater gods were at first personifications of the forces of nature, but

later they became something more. While they continued to represent the physical world, they were also busied with regulating and directing human life; they became the defenders of law and justice, bringing prosperity or adversity, rewarding the good and punishing the bad. *Jupiter* was the god of the bright skies, *Diespiter*, "the Father of Lights," but he was also the upholder of equity, on whom the stability of the state depended. The Fatherhood of God was an omnipresent thought to the Romans as they prayed to *Janus Pater*, *Ju-piter*, *Liber Pater*, *Mars-piter*, etc.

But, on the whole, the Roman gods were merely abstractions or functions, endowed with just enough personality to give them sex, but not enough to systematize them into a family or families; they were not quite personal gods, but rather divine entities (*numina*, "powers"). There was no limit to the number of such "functional deities." Every object, animate or inanimate, every idea, abstract or concrete, became endowed with a spirit of its own. The religion of Rome was a *pandaemonism*, "a belief, not in one god, pervading all nature and identified with nature, but in millions of gods, a god for every object, every act." (3) For they had a separate divinity not only for every obje t, but for every possible human action or condition or experience from the cradle to the grave.

## 13. THE GODS OF HEAVEN.

(1) **Greek Opinion of the Roman Religion.**— We are today much inclined to mistreat the Roman religion; it is, for example, generally accepted as fact that it was much inferior to the religion of Greece. The ancients, however, were of quite the contrary opinion. When the scholars of Greece began to study carefully the institutions of the people which had just conquered them, they were struck with the importance which was given to religion at Rome and with the manner in which it was practiced. The historians, savants and philosophers of Greece expressed a lively sympathy for the forms of worship which seem to us sometimes so puerile and so dry. The praise that Greece accords so liberally is a surprise to us. The ground for their admiration is found in the qualities their own religion lacked: the calm "piety," the dignified orderliness, the minute formalism, the political authority that governed it all, and the sense of the practical that had succeeded in turning every human force—even the most untamed and rebellious—to one single end, the greatness of the Republic.—*Gaston Boissier, "La Religion Romaine," I., pp. 29, 30.*

(2) **Horace's "Ode to Faunus."**

Faunus, lover of the shy
Nymphs who at thy coming fly,
Lightly o'er my borders tread,
And my fields in sunshine spread,
And, departing, leave me none
Of my yeanling flock undone!
So each closing year shall see
A kindling sacrificed to thee;
So shall bounteous bowls of wine,
Venus' comrades boon, be thine;
So shall perfumes manifold
Smoke around thine altar old!
When December's Nones come round,
Then the cattle all do bound
O'er the grassy plains in play;
The village, too, makes holiday,
With the steer from labor free'd
Sporting blithely through the mead.
'Mongst the lambs, that fear him not,
Roves the wolf; each sylvan spot
Showers its woodland leaves for thee,
And the delver, mad with glee,
Joys with quick-redoubling feet
The detested ground to beat.

—"*Odes of Horace*," *p. 179.*

(3) **The Gods of the "Indigitamenta."**— No other nation, perhaps, would have conceived of a special divine spirit, existing merely for the purpose of causing Hannibal to turn his back upon Rome when already in sight of the city. The Romans, indeed, might have given the credit of it to *Jupiter* or *Mars*, and invested him with a new attribute and built him a new temple. Instead of that, they chose to build a shrine, on the spot which Hannibal last occupied, to the *Deus Rediculus*, the god who caused the turning about. But the most remarkable illustrations of this practice are found in the "Indigitamenta," or books of religious formulæ, and other remnants of the old worship. Every act of life has its peculiar divinity. . . . There were some sixty or seventy of these, who presided over the growth of the human body alone [nine different ones before the child is born]: *Vagitanus*, who opened the mouth of the infant for its first cry; *Cunina*, who guarded the cradle; *Educa*, who taught the infant to eat; *Potina*, who taught him to drink; *Ossipago*, who knit the bones, etc. Then for husbandry there were *Nodutus*, who caused the joints of the stalks to grow; *Volutina*, who wrapped them in their leaf-sheaths; *Patelana*, who opened the wrappings, that the ear might come out in due season; *Hostilina*, who made the crop even in its ears; down to *Runcina*, who presided over the pulling of the roots from the ground. These were not strictly gods, even in the pelytheistic sense of the word, but *numina*, or attendant spirits.

But above all—and this is the source of what is purest and noblest in the Roman religion—they delighted in recognizing the divinity that inspired every virtuous thought and act—the worship of abstract qualities. . . . *Honor*, *Pudicitia*, *Fortuna*, *Pax*, *Libertas*, and *Concordia* were among their most honored deities.—*William Francis Allen, "Religion of the Ancient Romans," North American Review, Vol. 113* (reprinted in "*Memorial Volume, Monographs and Essays*," *pp. 58, 59*).

## 14. THE GODS OF EARTH.

The chief trait of the religion of Rome is this universal animism or naturism. To the Roman mind each phenomenon of nature and of life, everything that exists, abstract or concrete, seemed pervaded by its special deity, its peculiar genius. In the heavens above him he saw a powerful but distant god and protector, *Jupiter*, the Father of Lights; in the unfolding of the flower, the opening of the day, the clearing of the sky, as in the beginning of any human enterprise, he saw the working of his god *Janus*. But these great gods of heaven were remote from the heart of mankind; the people felt insignificant in their presence, and sought for humbler, more familiar deities, whom they found in unlimited numbers inhabiting the world immediately about them. (1)

Another striking characteristic of the Roman, in his religion as in everything else, was his practical, utilitarian trend. The "spirits" were everywhere about him; but the divinities of mountain or ocean were of little concern to him, as compared with the powers that might help or hinder his every act in life—the *Genii*, the *Lares* and *Penates*.

Vesta (with sceptre) and a Lar on either side.—The Genius as Serpent.

Intermediate between gods and men was the *Genius*, or Spirit, of each individual man, or object, or locality. This *Genius* was conceived as a product of deity, and at the same time the procreator of the man, now his spiritual counterpart, and again his guardian angel. The *Genius* is a divine, life-originating power, and is also, perhaps, the self-perpetuating principle of the family; in his very nature as the self-preserving and procreating principle, he belongs only to men; his symbol was originally the serpent, and he was guardian of the marriage-bed. Women had their *Junos* instead of the *Genius*. The *Genius* was, therefore, the man's own god, and to him sacrifice was offered. This made an easy step to the worship of the *Genius* of departed members of the family, which had its culmination in imperial times in the deification of the emperors.

Of kindred nature was the *Lar Familiaris* (2) or household god, whose worship formed the most important part of the religion of the home. So closely, indeed, was he connected with the idea of home that the word *lar* itself came to signify "home." The real nature of the *Lar* (or plural, *Lares*) it is hard to discover, because of the slightness of Roman tradition in regard to all their gods. (3) Not being fixed by tradition and literature, many of them changed greatly in the course of time. But the *Lar Familiaris* seems to be the presiding spirit or deity of the family. His

are the family concerns; he goes with them, if they move. Sometimes it is one *Lar* (*i.e.*, *Lord*); but more frequently the word is plural, especially in the later period. The *Lares* are present at the family meals and are themselves served with a portion of the meat and drink. Libation and incense are their approved portion, while on holidays their images were crowned with flowers and sometimes the sacrifice of a pig was offered them. Another conception gives us the *Lares* of the family as its departed ancestors, themselves performing for it the same functions as did the *Lar Familiaris.*

Besides the *Lares* of individual families there were, closely related to them in general character, the *Lares Compitales*, worshiped in the country at every cross-road. They were the especial guardians of the neighborhood immediately around. There were two in each place, and they were honored with shrines; their worship was merry and was shared in by the poorest and humblest; slaves and their masters met there on equal terms.

Always reckoned with the *Lares* in the household worship were the *Penates*, or gods of the household goods that were stored away in the great store-chamber (*cella penaria*) of the house. The office of the *Penates* was to crown the house with blessings, to provide the daily bread. The hearth was their altar, shared with them by *Vesta* and *Lares;* and close by it stood their images—always two in number, as their name is always plural; the singular of the name does not occur. Indeed, the real name of these divinities, as the real name of the guardian genius of the Roman city, was never spoken, for fear that an enemy might hear it and win away the favor of the protecting powers.

The *Lares* and *Penates* together were the guardians of the fortunes of the individual family. But the great Roman Family, the state, had its Public *Lares* and Public *Penates*, as it had its public *Genius* of the Roman People. The Public *Lares* provided for the stability of the state as a whole; their altar was the state hearth, and their priest was the Pontifex Maximus.

In the same way, the Public *Penates* were the *Genii* who presided over the material goods of the state as a whole, the symbol of the unity and good fortune of that supreme household which included all Rome. To them the consuls, praetors, and dictators made sacrifice when they took their oath of office and again when they laid their office down.

In addition to these, we have as Gods of Earth all the rural deities, *Silvanus*, "Forest-god"; *Limpa* (or Graecized, *Lympha*), "Stream-goddess," while each forest had its own peculiar *Silvanus* and each stream its own *Limpa;* also *Terminus*, the "Boundary-god," and all the host of the gods of the *indigitamenta*, even to name whom with the signification of their names would exceed the limit of all our lessons.

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## 14. THE GODS OF EARTH.

(1) **The Gods are Innumerable.**—Besides, the gods are innumerable, though the list of names is not of enormous length, even in the records of the pontiffs. Have they no names?—*Cicero*, "*de Natura Deorum*," *I., p. 30.*

(2) **The Lar Familiaris Identical with the Genius.**—The *Lar Familiaris* was identical with the *Genius*. Down to Cicero's time we find *Lar Familiaris* in the singular only; after Cicero we hear of *Lares Familiares* in the plural. In the same way the *Genius* in earlier times was worshiped as *Lar Familiaris*, and later both the *Lares Compitales* had their cultus combined with the Genius by the hearth of the home.—*Marquardt*, "*Römische Staatsverwaltung*," *III., p. 125, note.*

(3) **Different Interpretations of the Lares.**—The Romans themselves did not understand the real nature of the *Lares*, and we may scarcely hope to do so. The ancient scholars were not satisfied to call them simply the guardians of the house and home, but sought to fathom the deeper meaning of these strange divinities. The efforts to explain them were put forth in two directions: On the one hand, they aimed to define the nature of the *Lares* by attempting to identify them with Greek divinities; on the other hand, they endeavored to assign the *Lares* their proper place in the circle of related beings inside the Roman religion alone. In the first-class, Cicero makes the *Lares* the same as the Greek *Daimones* (*divinities, spirits*); Nigidius Figulus is more precise, saying that they are identical with the *Curetes*, *Corybantes*, and the Idaean *Dactyls*. But neither helps to clear away the obscurity to any great extent.—*Roscher's* "*Lexikon der Griech. u. Röm. Mythologie*," *II., Col. 1888-1890.*

## 15. THE GODS OF EARTH (CONTINUED). THE GODS OF THE UNDERWORLD.

But there were also greater gods of earth than these, albeit even these greater ones were only functional deities too. The old Italians were an agricultural race. They had observed the double nature of the earth, the generating and the producing powers. Accordingly the Gods of Earth appear as male and female: *Saturnus*, the God of *sowing*, and *Ops*, the Goddess of the *rich harvest*; *Tellumo*, the generating force, and *Tellus*, the conceiving, nursing power of the *Earth;* while *Ceres*, as her name implies (from the same root as *crescere*, "grow," and *cre-are*, "create"), was nothing more or less than the female productive function of Mother Earth. It was she, above all others, whom they worshiped for rich crops and increase of plant and animal wealth.

Ceres.

The sphere of the functional deities frequently became more extended. So Saturnus, who was originally god of sowing only, came to be also the god of agriculture in its widest sense. In this larger capacity he became the mythical inventor of agriculture and dwelt among men, and his reign on earth was the happy golden age. So his festival, the Saturnalia, December 17-24, marked the renewal of nature, the feast of freedom and plenty — a return to the golden age, when all human beings were free and equal and happy. It was a season of rejoicing, of feasting, and of giving gifts. No wonder that out of it grew our Christmas celebrations—dolls, candles, nuts, and all.

*Ops*, *Ceres*, *Tellus*, *Terra Mater*, *Dea Dia* (*the bright goddess*), *Bona Dea* (*the good goddess*), and many more are simply so many variations of the fostering Mother Earth.

**The Gods of the Underworld.**—As the Roman religion had no bright Olympus as home of the ever-blessed gods, so also it had no gloomy Hades with its dark, dank ways. The poets' picture of the underworld, with its rivers, its Elysium and its Tartarus, is thoroughly Greek. But the Romans did not fail to recognize the secret powers working beneath the earth, making the seed to grow, and affording an abiding place to the souls of the dead.

As the bodies of the dead were laid away in the grave, that was their dwelling-place. And from this conception of the individual grave the notion of a common home for all was naturally developed—subterranean, dark, like the grave itself. The souls of the dead were divine; they were gods, and their dwelling-place was holy, inviolate, like any other temple. But as the temple was the dwelling-place of the god, while he himself was omnipresent, so it was also with the grave and with the disembodied spirit, which dwelt, not with the body in the grave, but in the world below, moving at times also in the world above. It was universal belief that the life there was but a continuation of the life here. Accordingly, gifts of food, drink, weapons, tools, clothing, toilet-articles, and in the older times slaves and

wives, accompanied the departing souls. Gods also they must have. And they had them—gods in form and nature as indistinct as any of those above. The only male god is *Orcus* (*Dis Pater* is foreign, and his name is but a translation of the Greek *Pluto*, the god of hidden *riches*); he is the personification of the might of death and is king of the underworld; while *Lara*, *Larunda*, *Mater Larum*, "the Mother of the Lares," *Terra Mater*, "Mother Earth," are only the motherly attendants of the souls of the dead—all of them but so many different names for kindly Mother Earth.

The well-being of the souls below depended upon the manner in which they and their gods were honored by their surviving kindred. Accordingly some worship was due those gods, but far more important were the divine honors paid to the *Manes*, the pure, the bright, the good, the disembodied souls themselves. Herein we find among the Romans an unmistakable evidence for ancestor worship. The departed soul was a god; hence the appellation *Dii Manes*, "the Bright Gods," and *Dii Parentes*, "Parental Gods."

Interior of a Roman Tomb.

Their service consisted in sacrificial offerings, (1) prayer, and in general, due meed of reverence from the surviving members of their own household; if these were withheld, horrors of the night might in consequence visit the offender, sickness and death would be his portion. Another expression of their worship is found in the great festivals in honor of the *Dii Inferi*, "Nether Gods"—the Secular Games, the *Ludi Terentini*, *Ludi Taurii*, the *Dies Parentales* (an all-souls' feast, February 13-21); and this cult was also responsible for the institution of gladiatorial exhibitions. An awful feature of their cult was the ancient *devotio*, a vow to the powers of the underworld which meant the death and total destruction of an enemy, public or private.

The counterpart of the *Dii Manes*, "the Bright Ones," were the souls which never reached the spirit-realm—souls of men whose bodies were not properly buried, of suicides, of murderers, and of the murdered. These remained on earth as ghosts and goblins, *Larvae* and *Lemures*, (2) to haunt and torment the wicked and to be propitiated by the good.

Even the good spirits could come back to earth on the great feast days of the dead, when the gates of the lower world were opened for them, and necromancy might conjure them up at any time.

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## 15. THE GODS OF EARTH (CONTINUED.) THE GODS OF THE UNDERWORLD.

(1) **The Offerings to the Dead.**—The offerings consisted of libations of fresh milk, the blood of black victims (kine, sheep, or swine), while the flesh of the victims was burned upon altars erected for that purpose, honey, oil, and in later times also wine; other offerings were food, especially beans, lentils, eggs, salt and broth, unguents, incense, and most frequently of all, flowers and garlands.—*Steuding, in Roscher's "Mythologisches Lexikon," II., Col. 2322.*

(2) **The Larvae and Lemures.**—The Larvae were conceived of as evil spirits hideous to behold, driving their victims to madness. The Lemures, who were practically identical with them, were, in consequence of the easy confusion in the spoken language between *l* and *r*, readily associated with the violent death of Remus, whose wrathful soul could not be pacified except through the institution of a festival of expiation to himself by his brother Romulus. This festival of the *Lemuria* (*Remuria*) occupied three nights, the ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth of May, each year, and seems to have been originally a celebration of "all souls' day," but later the celebration took on the form of "laying" the ghosts who walked on those three nights especially.—*Paraphrased from Preller, "Römische, Mythologie," II., pp. 118-119.*

## 16. TEMPLES AND PRIESTS.

At first the Roman religion had no image, no temple, and no ordained priest. The gods were spirits, approachable alike to their greatest and their humblest servants; their sanctuaries were the sun-lit mountain-tops, the devious streams, the broad forest, the familiar flame. Groves, above all, were sacred places, wherein dwelt the spirit of the god and the spirits of deified ancestors; and there the worshiper came for sacrifice, for prayer, and for holy meditation. The chief sanctuary of *Jupiter*, even in Romulus' days, was the great oak tree that crowned the Capitoline. Many of the old trees and groves continued in veneration even into the period of the empire. But all this was of the intellect rather than of the heart. The Romans' gods demanded sacrifice, not love; they did not even feed the imagination as did the Greek gods.

As the Romans knew no images of their gods for one hundred and seventy years after the founding of Rome, so they had no temples. Instead, they had symbols—stones for *Jupiter*, staves and spears for *Mars*, etc., and sacred animals (survivals of former totemism). The Roman, left to himself, had no desire to reduce his vague deity to a visible and tangible form. His god was not a man, but a *numen*, "power." But his own notion was swept away by the swelling tide of Grecian influence, and one temple only, *Vesta's*, received no image, even when Greece was plundered to furnish statues for Roman sanctuaries.

Sacrifice to a Sacred Tree.

After King Numa the Roman religion was one, not of feeling, but of form. It was not emotional, but legal: it was not for the salvation of the individual, but for the establishment of the state. Its want of story, of art, and of feeling was compensated for by a superabundance of the most minute ritual—the observance of certain rites to be performed in a certain manner at certain times and in certain places. It was not a matter of faith or creed, but of punctilious performance. The real nature of the Roman worship is suggested by the great number of religious festivals; there were more than twenty to *Mars* alone.

But the two principal expressions of worship were sacrifice and prayers, of thanksgiving and of expiation. In neither act of devotion was the mediation of a priest required. In Rome the role of the priest was very much curtailed; he was but a Roman citizen in an office to serve the state. (1) But anyone's sacrifice or prayer would ascend to heaven, if only it was offered in due form. Each individual was his own priest; the paterfamilias was priest for his household; the king—while kings lasted—was high-priest for his great household, the state. In republican times the consul offered prayer and sacrifice for his people; the priest might stand by, but the most he did was to suggest the forms to be employed. To represent the king, and under his direction, there were three Greater *Flamines*, "fire-fanners," and a *Rex Sacrorum*, "king" or "director of the sacrifices" (who once, no doubt, was the head of the whole state, political as well as religious), to superintend the worship of the greater gods, while later, as new worships were introduced, twelve Lesser *Flamens* were added. But even before the beginning of the republic the *Pontifex Maximus*, the president of the College of Pontiffs, (2) had become in place of the king a sort of cultus-minister, or pope, the head of the whole religious system of Rome.

One of the oldest religious colleges was the sisterhood of the Vestal Virgins, who kept alive the sacred fire on the hearth of the state in *Vesta's* temple, and preserved the Roman *Penates.* Their prayers were supposed to have especial potency, and so they prayed every day for the general weal of the whole people and offered special prayers in time of public distress.

Other state priesthoods were the College of Augurs, whose business it was to discover from the flight or voices of birds whether the gods were favorable or unfavorable to any state proposal—a sort of state counsel to all public officials (3)—and the religious, close corporations of the Luperci (in the service of *Faunus*), the Salii (in the service of *Mars-Quirinus*), the Arval Brothers (in the service of the *Dea Dia*); but none of these last had any function to perform save on festal occasions connected with their particular deity. Thus there were priests enough, but the priests were, after all, officers of the law rather than of religion in our sense af the word. They dictated no creeds, preached no sermons, never tried to move the feelings of worshipers, and they could rarely mediate between an individual and his god. Their mediation was necessary only when a common sacrifice was to be made or a common prayer offered.

Everyone might offer his own sacrifice or prayer; and the Romans were much given to prayer; they prayed regularly every morning and evening, at the beginning and at the end of every meal. No sacrifice, of whatever sort, was unaccompanied by prayer. Besides this, the pious Roman prayed in private before undertaking any business of importance, and joined in the priests' prayers in public celebrations of a religious character. The assembly of the people, the meetings of the senate, the preparations for war, the public games, elections, even the theatre—all these were opened with prayer.

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## 16. TEMPLES AND PRIESTS.

(1) **Priests also hedged about with a mass of ceremonial regulations.** — The *Flamen Dialis*, or priest of Jupiter, must be of pure, patrician birth, of parents married by the ancient ceremony of *confarreatio;* . . . he must not ride a horse, nor look upon a marshaled army, nor take an oath, nor wear a solid ring, nor a knot in any part of his clothing. His hair must not be cut except by a free man, and the cuttings of both hair and nails must be buried under a tree of good omen. He must not touch nor even name a goat, uncooked meat, ivy, or beans.—*Allen, l. c., p. 61.*

(2) **The Functions of the Pontiffs.**—The six "bridge-builders" (*pontifices*) derived their name from their function, as sacred as it was politically important, of conducting the building and demolition of the bridge over the Tiber. They were the Roman engineers, who understood the mystery of measures and numbers; whence there devolved upon them also the duty of managing the calendar of the state, of proclaiming to the people the time of the new and full moon and the days of festivals, and of seeing that every religious and every judicial act took place on the right day. As they had thus an especial supervision of all religious observances, it was to them in case of need that the preliminary question was addressed, whether the business proposed did not in any respect offend against divine law; and it was they who fixed and promulgated the general exoteric precepts of ritual, which were known under the name of the "royal laws." Thus they acquired (although not probably to the full extent till after the abolition of the monarchy) the general oversight of Roman worship and of whatever was connected with it—and what was there that was not so connected? They themselves described the sum of their knowledge as "the science of things divine and human." In fact the rudiments of spiritual and temporal jurisprudence as well as of historical recording proceeded from this college. For all writing of history was associated with the calendar and the book of annals; and, as from the organization of the Roman courts of law no tradition could originate in these courts themselves, it was necessary that the knowledge of legal principles and procedure should be traditionally preserved in the college of the pontifices, which alone was competent to give an opinion respecting court-days and questions of religious law. — *Mommsen, "History of Rome," I., pp, 219, 220.*

(3) **The Auspices and Divination.**—But the formal auspices which the magistrates consulted were among the most characteristic of the institutions of the state. Everything was simple and definite, and reduced to rigid rules. It was not all birds, at all times, that conveyed the will of the gods, but only certain ones, when the magistrate consulted them with well-defined ceremonies. It was to him only that the auspices were sent; the augur was but the skilled interpreter who was called in to explain phenomena, but who had no power himself to seek for the signs. This resulted from the fundamental principle that the state rested upon the divine will, as declared in the auspices. The auspices belonged to the citizens as a body—that is, to the patricians; the chief magistrate for the time being had them in his possession. . . .

Individuals, too, could interpret for themselves the signs that came in their path, and there were many other methods of ascertaining the future besides the flight of birds, the appearance of animals, and the path of the thunderbolt.—*Allen, l. c., p. 69.*

## 17. SACRIFICE AND PRAYER.

Anyone might sacrifice and pray; but every sacrifice and every prayer, to be efficacious, must conform exactly to the specifications of the religious law. When anyone had a favor to ask from heaven, he must know first just whom to ask. And that was no small difficulty; for, considering the almost countless hosts of the Roman pantheon, the most minute knowledge of the speciality of each one of the immortals and of the functions that each performed was indispensable. (1)

The worshiper must, therefore, discover not only the attributes and the specialty of the god to whom he would sacrifice and pray, but also his true name, or, at least, the one by which the god preferred to be called; for, if called by any other name, he might not hear, or, worse still, might misunderstand. So Romans never addressed a prayer without using a variety of names to improve the chances of getting the right one, adding often: "Be thou god or goddess, man or woman, whoever thou

Bull, Ram and Boar, the Sacrificial Animals.

art and by whatever name thou wilt be called." Even when they prayed to *Jupiter*, they took pains to say: "Almighty *Jupiter*, or by whatever other name thou wilt rather be called."

When all this had been accurately discovered, the next step was to know the proper form in which the prayer was to be couched. For, as in legal matters, the plea was thrown out of court, if it was not presented in proper form, so in religious affairs the slightest inaccuracy of expression or gesture would render the whole proceeding null and void, or even work the opposite of what was desired. It is a matter of record that because of some insignificant slip of the tongue or hand the same rite had to be performed again from thirty to fifty times before it was exactly correct. To be perfectly exact—and nothing else would do—demanded information not possessed by ordinary men. Therein lay the power of the pontifical guild. Its members were the attorneys and counsellors in religious law, as they were also jurisconsults. They alone had access to the names of the gods and their functions; they alone possessed the requisite knowledge of all the infinite details of worship and of the books in which were contained the forms of prayer for every occasion. These books were called the *Indigitamenta* (*indigitare*, "to point out"), because they pointed out the right gods and the right prayers to use.

The Romans' prayers were diffuse. The prayer, once uttered, was repeated over in a new form, for they could not afford to be misunderstood. Small words were

very important; and so in serious cases of the public weal the worshiper, not daring to trust mere memory, had one priest by him to dictate the forms, another with the book to see that nothing was added or omitted, a third to guard against any profane speech, while a flute-player went up and down to drown out any profane speech that might happen to be uttered.

The Roman also carried his business principles into his religion. His prayer or sacrifice was a contract to make the god such and such return for such and such favors, and when properly uttered it was a contract binding upon both parties; the amount given the god was considered a fair exchange. It was this principle of exchange that led to the fulfilling of so many *vota*, "vows"—promises of offerings to the gods for favors to be received. Among no other people do we find this form of religious service carried so far. (2).

If all these minute conditions were met and everything performed with absolute conformity to the letter of the law, the Roman believed his prayer or sacrifice had power enough to *compel* the desired answer; there were prayers, he thought, of power enough to bring *Jupiter* himself down from heaven. Numa had done it; Tullus Hostillius had tried it, but by a slip in the form had brought the lightning down upon his own head. As to the state of mind and heart with which the Roman was to approach his god, that played no part in his religion. The most religious Roman was the one who observed most dillgently the rites and ceremonies prescribed by the Roman state. And that is what the Latin *religio*, "religion," means, "a re-selecting," "painstaking repetition" of the prescribed forms and rites; of the same root is *diligens*, *diligentia*, "exactness," "painstaking."

The same complex and minute ritual regulated the sacrifices; particular animals of specified color, age, and sex were prescribed for the various sacrifices of blood. But if the animal specified could not conveniently be found, the sacrifice of a waxen image of it satisfied the letter of the law. Human sacrifices were not uncommon in the earlier times, and were not unknown in the last days of the Republic, though this horror had been displaced by the symbolic sacrifice of human images, which satisfied the letter of the law.

On the whole, the religion of Rome was formal and cold; it suggested more fears than hopes—less still of love either from or towards its gods; while omens to be averted were everywhere. And yet this religion had its happy side—its games and its many happy festivals, with sacrifices, music, and dancing. (3) Though originally only sixty-five in number, there were at the beginning of the empire even more "holy days" (some two hundred in all) than in the "orthodox" calendar, with feasts and sacrifices, to make the idle Roman happy.

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## 17. SACRIFICE AND PRAYER.

(1) **Prayer and the Priesthoods.**—It was no easy matter to hold converse with a god. The god had his own way of speaking, which was intelligible only to the man acquainted with it; but one who did rightly understand it knew not only how to ascertain, but also how to manage, the will of the god, and even in case of need to overreach or to constrain him. It was natural, therefore, that the worshiper of the god should regularly consult such men of skill and listen to their advice; and thence arose the corporations or colleges of men specially skilled in religious lore, a thoroughly national Italian institution, which had a far more important influence on political development than the individual priests and priesthoods. These colleges have been often, but erroneously, confounded with the priesthoods. The priesthoods were charged with the worship of a specific divinity; the skilled colleges, on the other hand, were charged with the preservation of traditional rules regarding those more general religious observances.—*Mommsen, "History of Rome," I., pp. 217-18.*

(2) **Contracts of Expiation.**—And on the contrary, when anyone has reason to suppose that a god is angry with him, he humbly begs for peace, and the man makes a contract or treaty which is binding upon both. For the man must purchase the protection of the heavenly powers by prayers and offerings, and it would be unbecoming of a god who has received a sacrifice not to respond with some favor. If they found that the god failed to stand by the conditions of the contract, the gods were abused. When the people heard of the death of Germanicus, for whose recovery they had offered sacrifices in vain, they threw rocks into the temples and overturned the statues and altars of the gods into the streets.—*Boissier, "La Religion Romaine," I., p. 19.*

## 18. FOREIGN INFLUENCES.

So far our attention has been directed only to those features of religious thought and expression which were genuinely Roman. The essence of the first religion of Italy was the inheritance from Indo-Germanic times. The Latins, Sabines, etc., as sister tribes, had religiously much in common; and as they all became more and more united with Rome, many compromises were necessarily made in points where their religious development had varied. (1) Numa's legislation, constitutional and religious, was evidently Sabine. Tarquin's was Graeco-Etruscan or genuinely Greek. From the Graeco-Etruscan source sprang some forms of divination, the Roman Games, the first rude temples and statues; while the genuinely Greek elements were the introduction of art and of the Sybilline Books, written in Greek and brought from the Greek city of Cumae. Herewith was planted in the soil of Rome's religion new seed that was to take possession of the entire field. These Greek oracles found a place in the new temple of *Capitoline Jupiter;* the two chief men in the college that had charge of them were native Greeks; and they were consulted by the state in times of great distress, when Rome's own religion could afford no hope and no salvation. The oracles they gave generally brought relief only through the establishment of new cults or new forms, and these, of course, were invariably Hellenic. The Sybils were priestesses and prophetesses of *Apollo.* Very naturally, therefore, the first oracle of the newly acquired Books brought to Rome the worship of *Apollo Paean*, the Healer of body, mind and soul, with all his Hellenizing influences. Then came *Ceres*, *Liber* and *Libera*, *i.e.*, *Demeter*, *Dionysus* and *Persephone*, whose temple was the first built in Rome by Greek architects, and whose cultus was wholly Greek; then came also *Asclepius* with his serpent from Epidaurus, and *Cybele*, in her Hellenized form, from Pessinus. More Greek temples and temple statues, the gods in idealized human form, followed as a matter of course.

Jupiter Ammon. (From the Egyptian Amun.)

Of Oriental and Egyptian cults that came, no mention need be made. They were always "foreign" cults, of which Rome was very tolerant as long as they caused no conflicts with established forms and ceremonies. Indeed, whenever Rome took in a conquered people, she took not only its goods, but its gods as well.

But finally came Greek philosophy; for it was from Greece that Rome learned, not only religious and theological, but also philosophical, speculation. From the time that Greek philosophy—the rationalism of Euhemerus, the skepticism of Euripides and the Pyrrhonists, the agnosticism of Protagoras and the atheism of Diagoras and Theodorus—began to affect the impressible Roman mind, the old religion began visibly to fail. The pure theism and perfect virtue of the Stoics had no attractions for the ordinary Roman. The state and its patriots, like Cato, Aelius Stilo and Varro, tried to save the old forms and usages in the interest of the Republic, but their reforms failed, because the reformers themselves did not believe in the truth of what they tried to preach. Varro himself said that the worship was ill-planned, and that, if it could be made over, it could be made better. So reformers

confined themselves to urging the observance of the time-honored *practices;* as to personal *conviction*—the law said nothing about that, and all had equal freedom of thought.

The comic poets, Plautus especially and Lucilius, made all manner of fun of the religious notions of their contemporaries, and their audiences no doubt laughed. Polybius not only ignores Providence and Fate in the affairs of men, but even goes so far as to declare that the Roman religion was a clever invention of shrewd politicians, and he congratulates them upon their success in discovering so excellent a scheme for holding men together.

Scipio, Laelius, Lucilius, and Polybius might well as Roman citizens defend that which as men they did not scruple to attack. Those times saw no hypocrisy in such a course. Cato, himself an augur, is notorious for having "wondered how one soothsayer could meet another without smiling." And Cotta, as the great High

Interior of the Forum Romanum: Temples of Saturn and Vespasian.

Priest of Rome, believed in the gods; but, as a philosopher, he was an atheist or an agnostic. A magistrate, in the function of his office, should show a proper attitude toward the existing laws; he must to a certain extent put down his own likes and dislikes and beliefs and perform what the law dictates.

The masses did not lose their religion so soon as the educated Romans, (2) but they did early lose everything but the forms, and to those they clung out of patriotic motives only. They sacrificed to gods in whom they did not believe; they went through archaic formulae that had no longer any meaning; their rites had lost significance; the very science of taking the auspices was forgotten in Cicero's day, except for purposes of political intrigue; their temples fell into ruins; the contents were plundered and the lands appropriated for private ends; they had forgotten who many of their gods were—Veiovis, and the Lares even—and the divine names became a subject for archeological study instead of worship. Even that which

they borrowed from Greece proved to be only shadow, not substance. One last effort Augustus made to save the religion of his fathers, but in vain; it was left a broken and empty vessel for Christianity to fill. And the Roman religion perished as Varro had prophesied it would, "not by opposition from without, but by the indifference of its own adherents."

## 18. FOREIGN INFLUENCES.

**(1) Relation of Rome to Foreign Worship.**—As the Roman gods ruled over the Roman community, so every foreign community was presided over by its own gods; but sharp as was the distinction between the burgess and nonburgess, between the Roman and the foreign god, both foreign men and foreign divinities could be admitted by resolution of the community to the freedom of Rome, and when the citizens of a conquered city were transported to Rome, the gods of that city were also invited to take up their new abode there.—*Mommsen," History of Rome," I, pp. 206-207.*

**(2) Insufficiency of the Old Religion.**—The old Roman religion could not satisfy the new needs and longings of this new Roman people, because it had neither elasticity nor sympathetic power. It fell short as well of the intellectual demands of the time.—*Allen, l. c., p. 82.*

## THIRD WEEKLY REVIEW.

13. **THE GODS OF HEAVEN.**—Character of the Roman religion as compared with the Greek, Greater gods, Gods of the Indigitamenta.
14. **THE GODS OF EARTH.**—Spirits, Utilitarianism, Genius, Lares, Penates, Gods of forest and fountain, Indigites.
15. **THE GODS OF EARTH CONTINUED. GODS OF THE UNDERWORLD.**—The Greater gods of earth, Saturn, Ceres, Conception of the world to come, Ancestor-worship, Devotion, Ghosts and goblins.
16. **WORSHIP—PRIESTS.**—Nature of the earlier worship, Want of temples, Religion of ceremonies, Relation of priest to people, Pontiffs, Augurs, Vestal virgins, Occasions for prayer.
17. **WORSHIP—PRAYER AND SACRIFICE.**—Difficulties, Importance of correct form of address, Power of the pontiffs, Nature of prayer, Business principles, Power in prayer, Definition of religio, Literalism, Games.
18. **FOREIGN INFLUENCES.**—Combinations of Latin cults, Numa's institutions, Tarquin's innovations, The Sybilline Books, Hellenizing of Rome, Effects of Greek philosophy, Attitude of the different classes to religion, Its end.

## QUESTIONS.

13. *What elements go to make up the Roman religion? How was it different from the Greek? Who were the principal gods, and what did each originally signify? What was the most marked characteristic of the Roman religion? What did the Greeks think of it? What do we think of it?*

14. *What was the difference in nature between the Gods of Heaven and the Gods of Earth? Explain the Genius, the Juno. Describe the Lares and Penates. What were the Public Lares and Penates? What was the relation of the Public Penates of the Roman City to those of Alba Longa and Lavinium?*

15. *Who were the greater Gods of Earth? What was their nature and what the significance of their names? How did the Roman conception of the Underworld originate? Who were its gods? What was the life there? Who might not enter? How and when was return possible? What was the nature of Roman Ancestor-Worship? What offerings were made? What was the Devotio?*

16. *What was the earliest manner of worship? Was the genuine Roman religion idolatry? Trace its transformation. What was the position of the Roman priest? What priesthoods were there? Describe the duties of Augurs, of Vestal Virgins. What forms of divination were employed?*

17. *What difficulties stood in the way of efficient prayer? What was necessary to secure an answer? How was Roman worship like Roman law? Wherein lay the power of the Pontiffs? What was the character of the prayers? How great was their faith? What were the qualities of the Roman religion? What was its greatest strength? What its greatest weakness? Describe its dark side; its bright side.*

18. *What did Numa and Tarquin add to Roman religion? What were the Sibylline Books? Who was the Sibyl? What did the Books do for Rome's religion? What were the first Greek cults introduced into Rome? What were the effects of Greek letters and Greek philosophy on Roman religion? What were the causes of the decadence of the Roman religion? What efforts were made to save it?*

## SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Read Mommsen, History of Rome, Chapter XII.*
2. *Compare the worship of the Gods of Earth with modern Saint-Worship.*
3. *Compare the Latin conception of the Underworld with Homer's (Od. XI.), Vergil's (Aen. VI.), Dante's, Milton's, and the Roman Ancestor-Worship with the Chinese.*
4. *Compare the office of the Priest in Rome with the corresponding position in the ancient Greek religion and in the Christian Church?*
5. *Compare the ritualism of the Roman religions law with that of the Mosaic law.*
6. *How did the Roman religion prepare the way for Christianity, and what is the relation of the Roman to the Christian Religion?*

# TEUTONIC AND KELTIC RELIGIONS.

BY

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## 19. TEUTONIC AND KELTIC PEOPLES.

THOSE parts of the Indogermanic family that wandered farthest to the West and to the North of Europe were the Kelts and Teutons. These tribes did not make their appearance in history at once, but only by successive raids on Southern Europe did they come into full historical view. Several centuries before our era, Kelts had already left their stamp upon Iberic Spain. Under Brennus they almost took the capitol of Rome; they penetrated into Greece and settled in Asia Minor (Galats); even in the times of such a powerful Roman general as Marius combined German and Keltic hordes (the Kimbrs and Teutons) were dangerous to Rome. It is interesting to remember these repeated attacks of successive centuries. They were the prologue of the great migration period, which in ordinary histories does not begin until 378 A.D. Of course before and a long time after that date, for long centuries, the settled condition of civilized life was an exception in Europe north of the Alps, apart from a country so completely under Roman sway as Gaul.

Partly owing to this state of things, partly owing to our scanty means of information, we can draw no certain line of demarcation between the various tribes, not even between Teutons and Kelts. These tribes had no fixed boundaries; they were numerically rather small and covered very thinly the vast plains, besides being constantly at war with each other. Originally the cradle of the Teutons must have been the land between the Oder and the Vistula, the Kelts covering all the western and most of the southern countries. But gradually the Teutons moved westward; in Cæsar's time they had already made the Rhine a loose boundary between themselves and the Kelts.

With Cæsar our fuller knowledge of things Keltic and Teutonic begins. In the period of the Roman empire we must carefully distinguish between Keltic Gaul, that was an organized province, wholly subdued to the Roman rule and culture, and on the other side the barbaric Teutonic tribes in Germany. These latter were not nomadic, but still only semi-settled; amongst them an established kingdom, as that of Marobod over the Marcomans, was an exception, the rule being that a powerful chieftain, *e.g.*, Arnin the Cherusk, could not succeed in founding a lasting empire.

During several centuries these Teutonic peoples had no literature of their own. Their letters, the Runes, are of Roman origin, and were for a long time used chiefly for the purpose of divination. So our knowledge of the ancient Teutons is derived mainly from Roman sources. We know the history of the Roman sway over Ger-

many, the province stretching along the borders of the Rhine, with lines of fortifications eastward, reaching the Elbe. The defeat of Varus (9 A.D.) marks the date when the Romans were stopped on their conquering way to the East.

We are fortunate enough to possess in the works of Tacitus, in his Annals and Histories, but above all in his treatise on Germania, an account of the position, the life and the religion of the Germanic tribes. Tacitus, who was an officer in Germany, gives very full and accurate information of what he ascertained himself, besides what he heard from others. He is always to be trusted as to his truthfuluess, even when he reports of countries more out the way, but where Roman trade and travel did occasionally penetrate. So, *e.g.*, in his account of the Nerthus festival in an isle of the ocean, which must have been either Rügen or Danish Zealand, where seven tribes met, pledged to a religious truce in order to celebrate the rites of a common religion, and thus instituted something like the Greek amphiktyony. Although the style of Tacitus is colored by the rhetorical taste of his time and his thought by the antithetic comparison between the corruption of Roman civilization and the simple, moral life of German tribes, we can fairly well separate the facts from the Roman interpretation of them.

Tracing of Later Runes Illustrating the Eddaic Songs and Volsunga Saga. Ramsund Rock, Södermanland, Sweden.

Moreover, we must bear in mind that the narrative of Tacitus gives a true account of his own time, but not of a few centuries later. During these following centuries the fighting on the "*limes*" of the Rhine and of the Danube continued; in that struggle Marcus Aurelius was engaged, as well as two hundred years after him Julian, before he became the Apostate emperor. Through this war of several centuries not only the physical and moral strength of both the Roman and the Germanic peoples was nearly exhausted, but there was besides a constant intercourse, a regular infiltration and mixture of German and Roman blood.

## 19. TEUTONIC AND KELTIC PEOPLES.

**(1) Names and Divisions of Peoples.** — It is always hard to trace the original meaning of ethnographic names. The name German is assumed to be given to the people by their Keltic neighbors, as the name Scandinavia has come from the Lapps. There is danger of misunderstanding, because Teutonic (*deutsch*) and Germanic (*germanisch*) are used with a different meaning by German and by English scholars. German scholars as a rule use *Germanisch* for the whole family (including Scandinavian and Anglo Saxon) and *deutsch* in the narrower sense of what belongs to Germany, but J. Grimm often uses *deutsch* for the more comprehensive idea. In English the sense of the word is just the reverse: *German* denotes the narrower, *Teutonic* the wider circle; but here, too, there are exceptions; for instance, F. B. Gummere writes on Germanic origins in a general sense. As to the original meaning, it is curious to note that very likely Teuton was the name of a Keltic tribe on the Main.

The position and division of the single tribes is for the most part hypothetical; the only means of ascertaining them is supplied by the geographical names. The division of Tacitus points to Islaevones on the Rhine, Ingaevones in the North.

**Runes.**—The word *run*, *raunen*, "to mutter," has itself the signification of mystery, incantation, and only later did it get the sense of "sign, letter." Since the recent researches, chiefly of Wimmer and Bugge, it is certain that the runic alphabet (futhark) included originally twenty-four signs, the shorter one of sixteen letters being of later date, and that the signs themselves were of Roman origin. Much labor has been given to the explanation of Runic inscriptions, chiefly in England and Scandinavia.

## 20. THE EPIC STORIES FROM THE PERIOD OF THE MIGRATION.

From olden times the Germanic tribes sang songs about their heroic ancestors. Tacitus already mentions these old poems. In the Anglo-Saxon genealogies we see that the princely families trace their origin back through a series of heroes to a god, Voden; and so did the princes of other peoples too. History carried with it a great amount of epic lore, as is conspicuous in the Longobardian history of Paulus Diaeonus, abounding in heroic legends and poetic tales. So we can pick up in different parts of the Teutonic world, even among the Scandinavians whom we leave for the present out of sight, a great many heroic tales. Here we confine ourselves to the cycles centering round some great figures, and supplying the materials for several long epical poems and a still greater number of shorter ballads. The history of this poetry is one of the most interesting chapters in the history of medieval literature. This epic poetry has a historical background. For the northern seafaring Teutons, the Anglo-Saxons, Danes and Norsemen, this background was the adventurous life on the seas, as we find it in the Hilde-gudrun, and in the Beowulf poems. But for the Germans this historical background is the period of the great migration. No heroic lore of older time about Arnin or other chiefs has come down to us. All the heroes of the epics, so far as they have been real people, lived in the struggle of the great migration. So the two Ostrogothic kings: Ermanarich, who ruled over his people when they lived in Southern Russia, and who is said to have died of terror at the first approach of the Huns at the end of the fourth century, and the great Theodorich, who founded the mighty but short-lived kingdom in Italy, in the sixth century, and who is the Dietrich von Bern, Thidrek of the epics. In the same way the great chief of the Huns, Attila (Etzel, Atli), has become an epic hero. The overthrow of the Burgundian kingdom, near Worms, by these same Huns in the fifth century, has passed into the Nibelungen story. The subject of the Walthari story is how a young Germanic warrior and a maiden of royal blood, kept as hostages by the Huns, contrived to make their escape through many dangers. A young Merovingian prince, accused of being of bastard descent and persecuted by his two brothers; that is the historical kernel of the Hug-and Wolf dietrich story. King Rother in a disguise wooing a king's daughter in a foreign land; this story, with other names, we read in Paulus Diaeonus' Longobardian history.

Burial Mound Containing Stone Coffin, and Four Stone Cists.

It is, nevertheless, not Euhemerism pure and simple that provides the key to the understanding of these heroic tales and epics. We spoke only of a historical *background;* neither the persons nor the series of events are kept distinct in their historical surroundings. Times and peoples and situations are intermingled. This is owing first to the transference of these tales to peoples far remote from the time and the scenery of their origin. Anglo-Saxon poems of the eighth, and a Latin epic of the tenth or eleventh centuries, tell us how in the fifth century the Aquitanian Walther and the Burgundian maid Hiltgund escaped from Etzel and had to encounter Hagen in the Wasgenwald (Vosges). The Nibelungen story is presented to us in several forms; the most famous, being one of the latest, is the medieval Nibelungen epic, but in the meantime the same story had migrated by different ways into the Scandinavian north, and lived there in a cycle of poems of the Edda and in different legends, so it cannot surprise us that the tales were altered in the most unexpected ways. In the times of the breaking up of old tribes and forming of new

peoples, when medieval Europe was shaped, one people borrowed these stories from another, and so there is no unbroken line, no direct succession between the first poet who may have constructed the loose incidents into one story and the much later generations which gave it a new frame. So Ermanarich and Theodorich, in reality severed by more than one and a half century, became contemporaries. Dietrich himself was made the representative of many trials his people had to suffer long before or after his own age. The same Dietrich played a part in the catastrophe of the Nibelungen; the Eddic form associated even Jormunreh (Ermanarich) with this story. Later, times, too, left their representative figures or features in the stories; thus, for instance, in the Nibelungen the very sympathetic figure of Rüdiger of Bechlaran, in history as in character belonged to the late Middle-ages; and thus in Wolfdietrich and in the Rother story the oriental scenery reminds us of the period of the crusades.

We have till now only mentioned *historical* connections. And it is indeed necessary to point at the historical foundation of the heroic and epic lore of the Middle ages. But the mythical part must not be overlooked. Ortnit, whose story is interwoven in that of Wolfdietrich, is for the greater part mythical, Wieland the clever workman, altogether so. So are essential parts of the Nibelungen plot: the treasure of gold blended with the curse, the maiden or Walkyre to be won by the ride through fire or thorns, the demonical race who covet the gold and kill the hero. Of course it is not a god who is here hidden in the figure of the hero, Siegfried; but some of the most simple formulas of elementary nature myths have here independently taken flesh and blood in the heroic myth and are combined with the historical legend.

Another point of view of no less interest is that of the moral ideas, the standard of life and character embodied in the epical poetry. Much has been said on this subject already, especially by Uhland. In general we may ascribe to the former centuries the fundamental tragic conception, the deep sense of unavoidable fatality; that feeling of the period of the migration has its expression in most of the epic stories. The idea of fidelity, which is so paramount in the epics, belongs more to the medieval world of later time. Christian elements are fewer than we should expect; in the Nibelungenlied they are more in the external circumstances; the queens are going to church, a child is baptized, and so on, but there are none at all in the whole of the plot.

## 20. EPIC STORIES FROM THE PERIOD OF THE MIGRATION.

(1) **Sources of our Knowledge of the Siegfried (Sigurd), Wolsungen, and Nibelungen Legends.** —These belong to three families: *1. The Northern:* Seventeen of the heroic songs of the poetic Edda, interwoven with prose summaries, treat of the Wolsungensaga. In the prose Edda a part of Skaldshaparmmal tells this story. The whole of it is told in the Wolsungasaga. Characteristic of this family of sources is that it covers a far wider field than the German tradition. The story of Sigurd's ancestors and of the treasure is here in the foreground. More or less connected with the main story is that of Atli and of Jormeenreh (in Hamdismal). The Eddic lays here alluded to do not form a cycle; they are from different parts and of very unequal value. There is in the Codex Regius a great hiatus between two of them, which is compensated for to a certain extent by the prose narration of Wolsungasaga. On the whole the northern sources show us the tradition in different forms; and so it is not unlikely that the story has been imported to the north more than once.

*2. The High German.*—This family is represented chiefly by the Nibelungenlied, compiled from smaller "Lieder," as is recognized by most scholars after Lachmann, and brought in its actual form about 1200 A.D. to Austria. Here we have a unity, although the two parts (the first ending with the murder of Siegfried) are only loosely connected. Much that is necessary to understand the formation of the saga is here left out of sight; but the poetic value of the tragic mood and the vivid scenery in the first part, and of the characters of Kriemheld, Hagen, Ründiger, stands on the highest level of medieval production. Besides this great epic we have to mention the nearly contemporary *Nibelungenklage*, and the *Siegfriedslied*, this last a product of the "Spielmannsdichtung" in Rheinfranken.

*3. The Low German.* The Nibelungen story was known too in the Saxon countries, but no original productions from this sphere have come to us. This form of the tradition must, however, not be neglected, for it provided northern writers with materials. We find it in some old Danish Kaempeviser and in the Norse Thidreksaga.

## 21. THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

The German kingdoms founded on the ruins of the Roman empire took possession not only of the Roman territory, but also of a great deal of classical culture. So in Spain, in Italy, and most of all in Gaul, where the Frankish population amalgamated with the Gallo-Roman society and received from it not only its language, but most of its institutions. Exactly the reverse was the case in England. The Romans were settled in the isle for three and one-half centuries, and left there notable traces of their rule; but Britain had never been in any way a center of culture as Gaul was, and gradually the Romans had loosed their hold on this out-of-the-way province. When the Anglo-Saxons came there, called by an ill-advised British chieftain, they drove the Christian Britons before them to the North and West and founded states of comparatively pure nationality; the conquest was not as is generally the case, the blending of two nationalities, but the displacement of one by another.

A Viking Warrior.

The Anglo-Saxons ruled for more than six hundred years (449-1066) in England. For nearly one hundred and fifty years they were still heathens, but their Christianity was imported in two very different ways, from Ireland, and directly from Rome, the latter carrying at last the victory. For several centuries the freer Irish Church and the Papal Church of England sent to the continent the best missionaries; and the British Isles were still in the Karolingian period in France the seat of the best learning of the time.

The Anglo-Saxon kingdoms had to fight for several centuries the hosts of invaders which constantly appeared from Denmark; in the midst of these struggles stands the heroic figure of the great Alfred, and at the end the great empire of the Danish kings, Svein and Kanut, who succeeded in uniting the Danish and the Anglo-Saxon element. When, a few generations later, the Normans from Normandy conquered England, there was no feeling of the still real tie of kinship between these invaders and the Danes and Saxons they subdued.

A very rich Anglo-Saxon literature has come down to us. In England the use of Latin had not absorbed the thought and feeling to so great an extent as elsewhere. It is true that the most famous name amongst the Anglo-Saxon men of letters is that of the venerable Bede, whose works are in Latin and whose very keen interest for his nation is almost entirely limited by his ecclesiastical standpoint. In consequence of these limitations he tells us far less than we should wish about the pagan period. But, nevertheless, the vernacular literature flourished. We know not only the names of poets and authors, but we possess many of their works. The greatest reputation was won by the illiterate Kaedmon, who received poetry by inspiration, by the scholar Aldhelm, whose Latin works are still extant, but who was also a master of Anglo-Saxon poetry, by Kynewulf, the greatest of all, by King Alfred himself, who translated several Latin books into the national tongue. We pass over many notable relics of Anglo-Saxon writing, the genealogies already mentioned in Lesson 2, the magical incantations, the codifications of law, several smaller epic lays, to mention only the great poem of Beowulf.

This great epic is of the least mixed Teutonic origin, more free than any other from foreign influence; only occasionally are there traces of Christian influence.

The epic tells us a story with a great many episodic tales inserted. It is very difficult to distinguish between the traditions already living among the Anglo-Saxon tribes before they left their original home in Denmark and the figures and stories that originated in England. Certainly a great deal of the subject-matter in the tales of Sceaf, Beav, of the Geats, and so on, belongs to the former part and is clearly of continental origin. But the historic Hygelac, whose descent upon the Frisian and Dutch coast took place in the beginning of the sixth century, and many stories besides, point to periods after the settlement in England. As it is, this epic, too, brings many semi-historical records about the ancient tribes and their ancestors. But the mythical element is still greater than in many other tales, and the history itself is more that of tribes and peoples than of real historical persons. On the whole, critical labor, though done with great care and cleverness by some of the best scholars, has not yet given as clear results as in the Siegfried-Nibelungen cycle. But still the Beowulf epic is of great value. It is the great poem of the seafaring Teutons of the North, and at the same time it is the first really great poem of English literature, an epic of the sea and of man's fierce struggle with elementary forces. (2)

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## 21. THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

(1) **The Vikings.**—From what is told in the text it appears that long before the time of the Northern Vikings of the end of the ninth century the same sort of expeditions had taken place. Of course, the coming of Hengist and Horsa to England, the expedition of Hygelac and others, are as much Viking raids as those of a few centuries later. The Vikings proper came from Norway or from Denmark. They plundered not only the shores with their much dreaded *furor Normannorun*, but they settled in England as well as in Ireland, in Normandy and elsewhere. Specially through the work of Norse and Danish scholars, the history of this Viking-period is now far better known than before.

The Beowulf Epos contains in two great divisions the story of the hero's struggle with Grendel and Grendel's mother, his fight with the dragon and his death. The story of the swimming race with Breka is no more than an episodic tale like so many others. We give here a few characteristic samples from this epic, taken from the English translation, quoted in *F. B. Gummere's "Germanic Origins."*

### (2) Beowulf's Burial Mound.

Bid the battle-famed build me a mound,
bright after bale on a brow of the coast;
this as a token to tribes of mine
on Whale-Headland high shall tower,
by ocean-wanderers ever called
Béowulf's Barrow, when back from far
they drive their keel, o'er the dusky sea.

—*F. B. Gummere, "Germanic Origins," p. 312.*

### Burning and Burial of Beowulf.

Then the wounden gold on wain was laden
—'twere ill to count it!—and th' ætheling borne,
hoary hero to Hronës-Ness.
Folk of the Jutes then fashion'd there
on the earth a pyre imperishable,
hung with harness and helms of battle,
with breastplates bright, as he begged them once.
In the midst they laid their mighty chieftain,
warriors wailing their winsome lord.
Then on the mountain a mighty pyre
the warriors wakened: the wood-smoke rose
swart o'er the red glow, roaring flame,
mingled with moaning (the wind was whist),
till the heat had broken the house of bones,
melt in its bosom. Mourning-hearted
they moaned the sorrow, a master's death.
Likewise the widow, a woful song. . . .

* * * * * *

Then the Weder people wrought anon
on the cliff a barrow broad and high,
by ocean farers easily seen,
and within the tide of ten days built
the bold-one's beacon, *by burnt out pyre*,
and wrought them a wall, as worthiest seemed
to wisest men who weighed the matter.
Then they put in the barrow bracelets and rings,
all the treasure taken before
out of the hoard by the hero-band.
They left earl's riches for earth to hold,
the gold in ground, where again it lies
useless to men as ever it was.
Then round the barrow brave men rode,
sons of æthelings, twelve in all,
would moan their misery, mourn the king,
say their sorrow, and speak in laud,
praise his prowess, his powerful doing,
worthily laud him, as well beseemeth
men to praise their master-friend,
heartily love, when hence he goeth
from life of the body forlorn away.
So mourn'd their master the men of Jutland,
fall of the hero his hearth-companions,
counted him of the kings of earth,
of men the mildest and most beloved,
to his kin the kindest, keenest for praise!

—*Ibid, pp. 333-5.*

### The Haunt of Grendel.

A dismal land,
wolf-haunted cliffs and windy head-lands,
fen-ways fearful, where flows the stream
from mountains gliding 'neath gloom of the rocks,
underground flood. Not far is it hence,
by measure of miles, that the mere expands,
and o'er it the frost-bound forest hanging,
sturdily rooted, o'ershadows the wave.
In the dark of night is a dread to see,
fire on the waters: no wight so brave
of the sons of men who will search that flood!

—*Ibid, p. 476.*

## 22. SKALDIC AND EDDIC POETRY.

In the seventeenth century, the Bishop Bryniolf found in Iceland the MS. of the Eddic songs. Since that time the origin and character of these songs have been very often disputed. On one side the most fantastic views about the antiquity and the value of these relics have been advanced, and on the other theories have been built trying to prove them to be the patchwork of a very late period, hardly to be considered as a source of our knowledge of Teutonic mythology. Although this last view has still representatives of very great authority (Bugge the foremost of them, and besides several of the newer German scholars), it seems that as well in the Scandinavian North as in Germany (in the School of Müllenhoff) a more historical method of treatment prevails today, assigning to these poems their true place. The best starting-point for such a historical treatment is to be found in the skaldic poetry, remains of which have been preserved from the ninth century onwards.

Odhin upon his Eight-Legged Steed. (Runic stone in Götland.)

The names of a great many skalds (not less than three or four hundred) are known, beginning with Bragi, who certainly was a historical person living about 800. The adventurous lives of many of them, who lived at the courts of the kings and Jaels, won their favor, shared in their exploits, and wandered far through all parts of the North, form the subject of several of the most romantic tales in Norway and Iceland. But we have still more than these tales, viz., many shorter and longer poems, included in the later sagas of the Norse kings, and giving us the vivid impression of a contemporary who saw what he sang. These *drapas* (songs) in honor of a king or chieftain, describing his shield or exalting his bravery in war and exploits on the sea, are the most ancient and true part of what we possess from old Norse literature. They are, however, not at all the naive productions of a primitive state. The skalds sang in a very artificial manner; the art of building up their verses into the *staves* was a very elaborate one, and there are few things more hard to interpret than these ancient verses, crowded with metaphors or circumlocutions called *kenningar*, which play a great part in the poems of the Edda also. (1) The Eddic songs differ from the skaldic ones, first, in that they are anonymous, while we know the different skalds as authors of their *drapas*. For the greater part this Eddic poetry was contemporary with the skaldic songs; both are to a certain extent products of the same art.

We cannot speak of the poetic Edda as of a whole. The different songs are very loosely connected with each other. They are from different countries: Norway, Iceland, and some from Greenland. For a great number, and some of the most famous amongst them, the period must have been the tenth century. That is the period in which the Norsemen and the Icelanders were still heathens, but Christendom began to infiltrate through many channels into their lives. In this way, for example, the peculiar character of the peoples of the Wala and the Woluspa, can be accounted for. Apart from some later interpolations the materials are decidedly

pagan; but the whole scheme, the drama of the world from its beginning to the final catastrophe, the cosmogony and the eschatology, the idea of a crime as the turning-point of the destiny of the gods and of the world: all this, though carrying much of heathenish material, is very likely the work of a mind not unacquainted with Christian thought and feeling. Besides this Woluspa, the poetic Edda contains a dozen or more of songs about the gods, where the myths of *Thor*, *Baldur* and other gods are told in the most varying style, sometimes with a profusion of *kenningar*, sometimes (as in Thrymshoida and Skirnisför) in the manner of a poetic fairy tale. It contains, moreover, a long poem, or better, a small collection, Havamal, with many short maxims illustrating social life and moral ideas. The second part of the poetic Edda treats of the heroic myths of Wolund (Wieland), Helge, and the greater part (seventeen out of twenty-one) of the story of the Woesings and of Sigurd (Siegfried).

Our space does not allow us to enter into particulars about the extensive prose literature. First comes the prosaic Edda, to which the name Edda belongs in a more proper sense than to the songs, and where we find many myths told in order to explain the poetic language, especially in the mythographic treatise, "Gylfaginning." Then we have a great many sagas, prose stories with stanzas interwoven, the most beautiful about the life of the Icelandic families, the longest about the Norwegian kings. Then law books, and from the later centuries of the middle ages, literature of all sorts, adapted from foreign models. In the best period of Norse writing, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the art of telling long tales, perhaps developed by the intercourse with the Irish Kelts, was nowhere on so high a level as in Iceland. And, for historical investigation, the Norse sagas and histories provide us with an amount of materials for the history of the Norse from 800 to 1000 A.D. far richer than was done for any more southern country in that period.

## 22. SKALDIC AND EDDIC POETRY.

(1) **Kenningar in the Skaldic Poetry.**—A very good list of kenningar is given in *G. Vigfusson* and *F. York Powell's* "Corpus Poeticum Boreale," II., pp. 447-9. We give here some of the most striking ones:

The *eye* is the moon or star of the brows, the cauldron of tears, the pledge of Odhin (allusion to the myth, telling how Odhin gave one of his eyes in pledge); the eyelids are cups of sleep; tears, the ban of laughter. So the *mouth* is the city of song, the cave of the voice.

*Wind* is the destroyer of ships, the wolf of the forest.

*Sea* is the home of the eels, the pike's meadow, the path of ships, the necklace of the earth.

*Odhin* is named the lord of the gallows; the gallows are Odhin's steed.

Longfellow said: "The Icelandic is as remarkable as the Anglo-Saxon for its abruptness, its obscurity, and the boldness of its metaphors. Poets are called song-smiths; poetry, the language of the gods; gold, the daylight of dwarfs; the heavens, the skull of Ymer; the rainbow, the bridge of the gods; a battle, a bath of blood; the hail of Odin, the meeting of shields; the tongue, the sword of words; a river, the sweat of earth, the blood of the valleys; arrows, the daughters of misfortune; the earth, the vessel that floats on the ages."

So for all objects and for the gods, too, this poetic language invented metaphorical circumlocutions, at the meaning of which we can often guess only.

(2) **Bragi's Shield Lay.**—In this, one of the skaldic lays, a description occurs of the following mythical scenes: The everlasting battle on the isle of Hod; the avenging of Swanhild on Jormunrek; Gefeon ploughing Zealand out of lake Wenern; Thor and the Earth Serpent.

(3) **A Few Specimens of the Edda Poetry.**—Here are some maxims from the Havamal:

No man can bear better baggage on his way than wisdom; in strange places it is better than wealth. It is a wretched man's comfort.

No one can bear a better baggage on his way than wisdom; no worse wallet can he carry on his way than ale-bibbing.

He that never is silent talks much folly. A glib tongue, unless it be bridled, will often talk a man into trouble.

It is far away to an ill friend, even though he live on one's road; but to a good friend there is a short cut, even though he live far off.

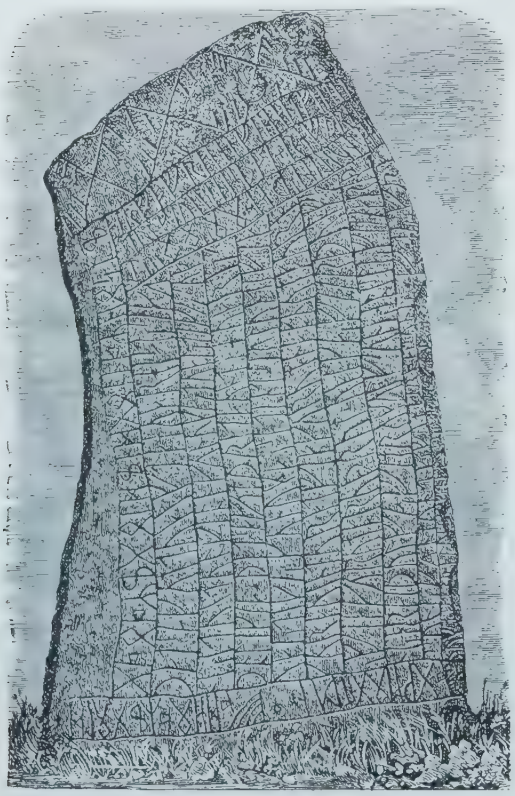
Chattels die; kinsmen pass away; one dies oneself; but good report never dies from the man that gained it.

The following is a strophe from the beginning of Woluspa, describing original chaos:

In the beginning, when naught was, there was neither sand nor sea nor the cold waves, nor was earth to be seen nor heaven above. There was a yawning chasm (chaos), but grass nowhere, ere that the Sons of Bor, who made the blessed earth, raised the flat ground. Then the sun shone forth from the south on the dwelling stones, and the fields were mantled with green herbs. The sun from the south, with the moon her fellow, cast her right hand on the edge of Heaven. The Sun knew not her inn, nor the Moon his dominion, nor the Stars their place.—*Vigfusson and Powell, "Corpus Poeticum Boreale."*

## 23. MEDIEVAL AND MODERN FOLKLORE.

The relative scantiness of literary records has driven the scholars who inquire after Teutonic antiquity to folklore as one of the paramount sources of information. Of course part of this folklore, too, has been handed down through literature; thus we find magical incantations in medieval manuscripts, and in medieval books many tales and proverbs, accounts of manners and customs. Still the greater part of folklore has been preserved only in unwritten tales and in old surviving superstitions, ceremonials, and customs. They have been collected thence in our age with a fervid ardor, though not always with a true insight into the subject. The brothers Grimm took the lead, collecting from written sources the "Deutsche Sagen," and from oral tradition the "Kinder und Hausmärchen." The blending of the romantic spirit that lived in them and drew them to these popular relics, with the true scientific accuracy they brought into all their pursuits, made these books of the Grimms unsurpassed, if not unattainable, models in the collecting of popular lore.



The Longest Runic Inscription Known. (Götland, Sweden.)

In truth, they were not absolutely the first who cared for *popular anti-quities.* Brand's collection with this title is known well enough; and long before our century, treatises about fairies and goblins existed. But only after the Grimms did the general interest in this subject awake, and now the heap of books containing folk lore of all countries of the world can hardly be summarized or even catalogued. The greatest supply of these materials concerns the Teutonic lands, the different provinces of England, France, Germany and Scandinavia.

Amongst the many subjects included in that general name folklore, namely: riddles, games, superstitions, songs, etc., etc., two are prominent—the tales (Märchen), and the manners and customs in private and public life. Many scholars, following the brothers Grimm, are particularly interested by the tales. They present them in very different lights. To one these tales speak of the wonderful poetic fancy still living in the uncultured mass of the people. Another sees the remarkable coincidence between accidents in the heroic saga and the folktale, between Siegfried winning Brunhild and the pretty sleeping girl in the wood, Dornröschen. Another, again, hunting farther on this same track, discovers the fundamental types in different tales and tries to classify them. Finally, a different order of facts is put into the foreground, where the literary genealogy of the tales is discovered, and their parentage traced back either to India, where the books of fables already contain so much that passed into European tales, or to a still remoter antiquity in Babylonia or elsewhere. All these different observations throw light on the tales that are found in medieval or modern Europe. But still a complete and exhaustive explanation

that would give an account of the origin and development, will hardly ever be attained. The migration of most of these widespread tales must be recognized as a very interesting fact, but can never be accounted for by a theory that will exhaust the matter.

Another set of facts embraces manners and customs in the most complete sense of these words. What men did and will do at the great events of life—birth, marriage, death, the remains of village and tribal ceremonies, the ceremonials at different times of the year in connection with the seasons and the aspects of nature, the beliefs and customs kept and practiced in relation to the vegetation and the harvest: all this and still more has been studied with great care. So W. Mannhardt made the tree and corn customs the subject of very extensive and accurate investigations. The transmission of such customs in a literary way is a thing out of the question, and so these parallels seem to point far more to a primitive fact and to afford conclusions of a far greater certainty than the tales do. But here, too, we must own that the evidence has no national limitations. Facts of the same order as they are found to-day amongst the German peasantry appear in the ritual of great Greek and Roman festivals, and are still found in different parts of the world.

Thus, of course, the very character of this folklore, as being so universally spread, showing the same essential features everywhere, makes it of less interest as a characteristic of one peculiar people. We cannot ascribe to the special invention of the Teutons what the Romans had as well, nor make conclusions from a generally spread tale to the remote past of Germanic tribes. Therefore it is of so great an interest that the collection has been made as historical as it is possible to be. Unrestrained by any tie of time or country the *Märchen* flies through the air; and the same habits and customs occur amongst peoples who have nothing to do with each other. But still there is nothing in human life that cannot be connected in some way with history. So it is here. The collections made in a strictly limited sphere, in several provinces, amongst populations of the same origin and the same traditions illustrate the life of that country, as a historical record of a peculiar description. Besides, there is folklore that is confined to certain places or certain historical persons, sometimes by chance, sometimes by an original and essential tie.

Through folklore we ascertain the original animistic beliefs of humanity. But there is nothing special in that, because it is no more or less true in Germany and Scandinavia than amongst Greeks and Romans, or even amongst savages. Animism is everywhere a part, nowhere the whole, of original belief. In order to make use in a fruitful way of Teutonic folklore, all the different ties must be sought for—and there are a great many to be found—that link these tales and these customs to the real historic life of the Teutonic peoples.

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## 23. MEDIEVAL AND MODERN FOLKLORE.

(1) **The Magical Incantations** —Amongst them the two found at Merseburg are of genuine heathen origin. We give no translation, which can, by no means, give a fair idea of the original. But we mention only that in both of them the magical formula proper is preceded by a mythical allusion, meant to give power to the magical words. In the first the spell to loosen fetters (Lösungszauber) follows after the mention of three groups of *Idisi* (*Walkyren*) busy on the battlefield. The second is a medical formula, to heal a wounded horse, after the same manner by which *Wodan* cured a lame foal.

(2) **Classification of Folktales.**—Much attention is paid nowadays to this subject. In *Mr. G. L. Gomme's* "Handbook of Folklore" no less than seventy types of these tales are enumerated. Three of these types are as follows:

**Cupid and Psyche Type.**—1. A beautiful girl is beloved by a man of supernatural race. 2. He appears a man by night, and warns her not to look at him. 3. She breaks his command and loses him. 4. She goes in quest of him, and has to surmount difficulties and accomplish tasks. 5. She finally recovers him.

**Gudrun Type.**—1. A bride is carried off by a monster or a hero. 2. And is recovered, or is the cause of misfortune and ruin on the ravisher.

**Sleeping Beauty Type.**—A princess warned not to touch a certain article. 2. She does what she is forbidden and falls asleep. 3. A prince discovers her sleeping after a lapse of many years, kisses her and wakes her.

## 24. FEATURES OF KELTIC CHARACTER.

"*Et quasi cursures vitae lampada tradunt.*" These words of Lucretius apply not only to the successive generations of men, but also to the nations, in the part they play in the history of mankind. Many nations in turn take the lead in civilization. Poor Crete, last winter the scapegoat of European politics, once, in a time as remote as the Homeric period, was the *hekatonpolis* "hundred-citied" isle, the cradle of Zeus and the realm of Minos. Since that time many nations have ruled and decayed; nearly each country of old Europe has had its century of power and glory.

But the Kelts never had a day of their own; only for a short time did they take a notable place as representatives of Roman or of Christian culture in Gaul and in Ireland. Once, as we noticed before, Keltic tribes covered the whole of Western Europe, from the Elbe to the Atlantic ocean, from the British Isles to the north of

Ruins of King Arthur's Castle in Cornwall.

Italy. But they were always driven more and more to the west. In Gaul neither their political nor their military organization was strong enough to resist the conquering power of Cæsar. The bloody worship of the cruel Gallic gods, *Tentates*, *Hesus*, *Taranis*, offended the Romans, who persecuted the Druids (priests of Gaul), but made friends with the Gallic nobles. There has been no province of the empire more thoroughly imbued with classical culture than the province of Gaul. The native population, endowed with quick understanding, wholly assimilated Roman life and ideas. Thus it was on the Keltic soil of Gaul that the German people was infused with Roman culture, in that Frankish empire, the one great German kingdom that lasted after the storms of the migration and that almost shaped Medieval Europe.

Thus it was the blending of Roman, Keltic, and German features that made France. People have tried to trace back to their ethnic origin some of the chief influences and characters in French history and literature, and much stress has now and then been laid upon the Breton (= Keltic) birth of men like Abelard, Chateaubriand, and Renan. There may be some grain of truth in that; but in so complex a growth as the historical formation of a modern nation, the result of centuries of development, it is impossible to simplify the problem so far as to find the original Keltic features in a mind educated by so many modern and foreign influences as, *e.g.*, that of Renan.

Quite different from the fate of the Gallic tribes was that of the Kelts in the British Isles. Especially Ireland, never conquered by a Roman army, and converted to Christianity as early as the fourth century, became a seat of Christian faith and learning. Irish monks and anchorites lived in the famous monasteries of Armagh and Bangor (Wales), or retired to the inhospitable isles to the north of Scotland. Irish missionaries were the first who undertook to preach the Gospel to the heathen Teutonic peoples in England as well as on the continent. From Ireland the first independent Christian mission work started, but was overthrown by the later papal missions, whose great hero was Winfrid (Bonifacius). In the darkest century of all, the seventh, the light of culture and learning, nearly extinct in the Longobardian Italy and the Gaul of the Merovingians, shone in Ireland, and later that first Renaissance under the Karolingian princes borrowed its greatest masters from the Emerald Isle. No scholar of these early centuries is more famous than Scotus Erigena.

Very early, certainly frequently in the ninth century, the Irish had much intercourse with Norse seaman, and the Vikings settled in Ireland itself, where they founded several kingdoms. The influence of the Keltic Irishmen and the Teutonic Norse Vikings on each other has been judged from very different standpoints. It may be that in material culture, certainly in seafaring and trade, the Norse stood at the front; but in learning, in poetic feeling and musical accomplishments the Kelts were far the foremost. We cannot enter here upon the difficult question what features of literature are to be assigned to the one, what to the other race. Ireland was the home of many tales, and the Icelandic bondmen who in summer traveled abroad came home with a great number of stories they repeated in their long northern winters. So in the Icelandic Sagas there is, both in the form and the subject-matter, much borrowed from the Irish.

The Irish literature has been rich in all sorts of works that are preserved in the Irish manuscripts, known as the book of Leinster and the book of Ulster. The most interesting from a literary point of view are the stories of sailors and their miraculous adventures, the strange and remote countries fading away in a far-off horizon, and blended in the imagination with the other world of spirits and the dead. Among these *unramas* the travels of Bran (Brandaen) have had the greatest popularity in medieval Europe. The heroic tales belong chiefly to the Ulstermen (here the heroes are Conchobar, MacNessa and Cuchulin), and to the people of Munster, who told about Finn and Ossin.

Nor was Ireland alone a seat of poetry. Not less poetic or musical were the Kymry of Wales and Cornwall, where in every house there is said to have been a harp. From these quarters we possess the stories known under the name of Mabinogi. Here we find some of the great figures and themes with which the greater part of medieval romantic literature was nourished, and which still awake the fancy of our nineteenth century poets. "Arthur," the "Lady of the Lake," "Lancelot," "Peredur" (Parceval), "Tristan and Ysolde"—these romantic tales in the European literature of centuries are due to the lively imagination, the deep feeling, and the sense for nature of the Kelts.

So the Kelts, if they had not a day of their own in the government of the world, have supplied materials enough for thought and for feeling.

## FOURTH WEEKLY REVIEW.

19. **TEUTONIC AND KELTIC PEOPLES.**—The Indogermanic family, Teutons and Kelts, Migrations, Cæsar, Tacitus.
20. **EPIC STORIES FROM THE PERIOD OF THE MIGRATION.**—Historic background, Migrations, by sea and land, Ermanorich, Theodarich, Attila, Confusion of dates, Ortnit, Wieland, The Nibelungen plot, Fate, Fidelity.
21. **THE ANGLO-SAXONS.**—Influence of Roman culture on Continental and on English peoples, Alfred, Kanut, Kaedmon, Kyenewulf, Beowulf.
22. **SKALDIC AND EDDIC POETRY.**—Edda, Skalds, Kenningar, Location, Period, Christian influence, Thor, Baldur, Wolund, Sigurd, Prose, Edda.
23. **MEDIEVAL AND MODERN FOLK-LORE.**—Folklore in records, tales, rites, customs, proverbs, etc., Grimm Brothers, Folklore in many lands, Tales and customs, Comparison, Types, Genealogies.
24. **FEATURES OF KELTIC CHARACTER.**—Kelts in France, England, Ireland, Wales, Cornwall, and Iceland, The Kelts in government, thought, and feeling.

## QUESTIONS.

19. *What peoples of the Indogermanic (Indo-Keltic, or Aryan) family migrated to the North and West of Europe? Recall some early facts about the Kelts. How were Teutons and Kelts related? What does Cæsar tell us about them? What does Tacitus tell us?*

20. *What formed the historic background for the epic stories of the Germanic tribes? What for the other peoples of the Teutonic race? Name three great heroes of the Germans. How are these historical elements confused? Name some mythical elements in the epics. What are the chief two moral traits?*

21. *How did Teutonic influence in England differ from that in France? How were the Norman conquerors of England related to the Saxons? Name some famous Anglo-Saxon writings. Outline the burial of Beowulf?*

22. *State the opposed views concerning the Eddas. Who were the skalds? About what did they sing? Repeat some kenningar. Where and to what period do the Edda belong? What gods do they concern? What heroes? What do the Norse sagas and histories provide?*

23. *Name the varied sources of folklore. Who were its greatest collectors in Europe? State some of the special lines of research in folklore. How much of this folklore is peculiar to the Teutons?*

24. *What was the fortune of the Kelts in politics? What their influence upon culture? How did they variously affect France and Great Britain?*

## SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Read chapters 1 to 10 of F. B. Gummere's "Germanic Origins."*
2. *Read Paul B. du Chaillu, "The Viking Age," vol. 2.*
3. *Read Ibid, vol. 1.*
4. *Consult the "Corpus Poeticum Boreale" of Vigfusson and Powell for further material.*
5. *Study "Handbook of Folklore," by G. L. Gomme.*
6. *Consult "Hibbert Lectures" for 1886, by J. Rhys.*

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# GAZETTEER AND GLOSSARY.

## KEY TO PRONUNCIATION.

a as in fat.
ā as in fate.
ä as in father.
*a* when obscure.
e as in met.
ē as in mete.
i as in pin.
ī as in pine.
o as in not.
ō as in note.
ö as in move.
u as in tub.
ū as in tube.
ü Place the lips for oo, but say ee.
oi as in joint.
ou as in proud.
g as in get.
ñ French nasal n.

N. B.—Greek names are sometimes variously written, according as the original Greek or the Latinized form is followed. The pronunciation of the commonly known names is according to English rules, otherwise as in Greek or Latin.

**Aeschylos** (ēs′kē-los).—Greek poet.
**Aides** (ī′dēz) or Hades (hā′dēz).—Greek god.
**Antigone** (an-tig′ō-nē).—Greek heroine.
**Aphrodite** (af-rō-dī′tē).—Greek goddess.
**Apollo** (*a*-pol′ō).—Greek god.
**Ares** (ā′rez).—Greek god.
**Artemis** (är′tē-mis).—Greek goddess.
**Asklepios** (as-klē′pi-os).—Greek god.
**Athena** (*a*-thē′n*a*).—Greek goddess.
**Bona Dia** (bō′nä-dē′ä). Roman goddess.
**Ceres** (sē′rēz).—Roman goddess.
**Cybele** (sib′e-lē).—Greek goddess.
**Dea Dia** (dā′ä-dē′ä). Roman goddess.
**Demeter** (de-mē′ter).—Greek goddess.
**Diana** (dī-an′*a*).—Roman goddess.
**Diespiter** (dē′āz-pē′tār).
**Dii Inferi** (dē′ē-ēn′fā-rē).
**Dii Manes** (dē′ē-mä′nāz).
**Dione** (dī-ō′nē).—Greek Titan.
**Dionysos** (dī-ō-nī′sos).—Greek god.
**Erinyes** (e-rin′i-ēz).—Greek deities.
**Faunus** (fou′nös).—Roman god.
**Fides** (fē′dāz).—Roman goddess.
**Flamines** (flä′mē-n*az*).—Roman priests.
**Flora** (flō′r*a*).—Roman goddess.
**Fortuna** (for-tö′n*a*).—Roman Goddess.
**Freya** (frī′*a*).—Teutonic goddess.
**Freyr** or Frey (frīr or frī).—Teutonic god.
**Genius** (gā′nē-ös).—Roman god.
**Hades** (hā′dēz).—Greek god.
**Hephaistos** (hē′fīs-tos) or Hephaestus (he-fes′-tus).—Greek god.
**Hera** (hē′r*a*).—Greek goddess.
**Hermes** (her′mēz).—Greek god.
**Indigitamenta** (ēn-dē′gē-tä-mān′t*a*).
**Jana** (jā′n*a*).—Roman goddess.
**Janus** (jā′nus).—Roman god.
**Juno** (jö′nō).—Roman goddess.
**Jupiter** (jö′pi-ter).—Roman god.
**Lar Compitales** (lär cōm′pē-tä′l*as*).
**Lares** (lā′rēz).—Roman gods.
**Lar Familiaris** (lär fä-mē′lē-ä′rēs).
**Larvae** (lär′vē).—Ghosts.
**Lemures** (lā′mö-r*az*).—Ghosts.
**Leto** (lē′tō).—Greek heroine.
**Limpa** (lēm′p*a*).—Roman goddess.
**Luna** (lö′n*a*).—Roman goddess.
**Maenad** (mē′n*a*d).—Votary of Dionysos.
**Mars** (märz).—Roman god.
**Minerva** (mi-ner′v*a*).—Roman goddess.
**Manes** (mā′nēz).—Spirits of the dead.
**Metis** (mē′tis).—Greek goddess.
**Naos** (nā′os)—Part of temple.
**Numina** (nö′mē-n*a*).—Powers, deities.
**Odhin or Odin** (ō′dhin or ō′din).—Norse god-Saxon Woden.
**Odysseus** (ō-dis′ūs).—Greek hero.
**Opisthodomos** (o-pis-tho′do-mos).—Part of temple.
**Ops** (ops).—Roman god.
**Optimus** (op′ti-mus).—Maximus (max′i-mus.)
**Orcus** (or′kus).—Roman god.
**Orestes** (o-res′tēz).—Greek hero.
**Paean** (Pē′*a*n).—Greek god.
**Pallas** (pal′*as*).—Epithet of Athena.
**Pan** (pan).—Greek god.
**Poseidon** (pō-sī′don).—Greek god.
**Penates** (pē-nā′tēz).—Roman gods.
**Persephone** (per-sef′ō-nē).—Greek goddess.
**Phoibos** (foi′bos) or Phoebus (fē′bus).—An epithet of Apollo.
**Pluto** (plö′tō).—Greek god.
**Pontifex Maximus** (pōn′tē-f*ax* mäx′ē-mös).
**Pythia** (pith′i-*a*).—The prophetess at Delphi.
**Python** (pī′thon).—A demon.
**Quirinus** (kwi-rī′nus).—Roman god.
**Salus** (sā′lös).—Roman god.
**Sancus** (sän′kös).—Roman god.
**Saturnus or Saturn** (sat′ern).—Roman god.
**Silvanus** (sēl-vä′nös).—Roman god.
**Sol** (sol).—Roman god.
**Sophocles** (sof′ō-klēz).—Greek poet.
**Tellus** (tel′us).—Roman goddess.
**Thor** (thor).—Teutonic god.
**Tiu** (te′ö).—Teutonic god.
**Triptolemos** (trip-tol′e-mos).—Greek hero.
**Vedius** (vā′dē-ös).—Roman god.
**Venus** (ve′nus).—Roman goddess.
**Vesta** (ves′t*a*).—Roman goddess.
**Vulcan** (vul′k*an*).—Roman god.
**Woden or Wodan** (wo′den).—Teutonic god.
**Zeus** (zūs).—Greek god.

# SIDE LIGHTS.

**The Great Nature Gods of the Teutonic Peoples.**—So ran popular belief; and northward with outstretched hands our forefathers turned when they engaged in ceremonial worship. With the introduction of Christianity, the east became cardinal point of prayer, and the north, as we might expect, was banned as unlucky and a place of devils. Who were, then, the dwellers of that cold Germanic Olympus?

Some definite evidence on this point seems to meet us in the names given to our days of the week. The Germans were still of heathen faith when they took the names of these days from Rome and translated them into terms of their own mythology. . . . Of the individual days, Sunday and Monday are obvious translations. But Tuesday, *dies Martis*, is credibly traced to the Germanic god Tius. Wednesday, *dies Mercurii*, has the stamp of Woden plain to see; and old Thor, our Saxon Thunor, is as evident in the name of Thursday, *dies Jovis*. *Frige dæg* is good Anglo-Saxon for the *dies Veneris*. Saturday is Anglo-Saxon for *Sæteres dæg*, but also *Sæternes dæg*, evident translation of *dies Saturni*. . . .

The chief god of the Germans when the Romans came in contact with them seems to have been Woden. . . . Certain, however, is the fact that Woden is the wind-god, the deity of heaven in the literal sense, the prince of the powers of the air, although he is not the original ruler of Germanic deities; he has taken the place of an older heaven-god, Tius, and seems to have got the latter's wife into the bargain. . . .

The explanation of this supremacy of Woden in the later heathen times lies in his double attribute of intellectual skill—he is said to have "invented" runes—and love of war. . . . Moreover, Odin was father of war itself; when he threw his spear, battle was born in the world. The spear was his peculiar weapon, and was still the chief arm of Germanic soldiers in the time of Tacitus. . . . The wolf is Woden's beast, and the raven is his bird; the latter is also a sign of victory, not at all the thing of evil it became in later times. . . . Luckily we have a genuine relic of the old Woden cult, an incantation preserved in widely sundered dialects, and of undoubted German origin. . . .

Phol and Wodan fared to the holt:
then Balder's foal's foot was wrenched.
Then Sinthgunt besang it and Sunna her sister:
Then Fria besang it and Volla her sister:
then Wodan besang it, who well knew how,
the wrenching of bone, the wrenching of blood,
the wrenching of limb;
bone to bone, blood to blood,
limb to limb, as if they were limed!

. . . Still another charm, this time from the Anglo-Saxon, shows us Woden as final appeal in a somewhat similar emergency. . . . Then follows:

These nine are opposed to poisons nine.
Sneaking came snake, tore asunder a man.
Then took Woden nine Wonder-Twigs:
he smote the Nadder, in nine [pieces] it flew. . . .

In some of the German cornfields it was the habit at harvest-time to leave a heap of corn "for Woden's horse." A writer living in Rostock in 1593 describes the custom of Mecklenburg at rye-harvest, when they gave grain to the god, with the rhyme—

Wode, give thy horse fodder.
Now thistle and thorn,
Next year, better corn!

Renunciation used under Boniface by Saxons and Thuringians: "Ec forsacho allum diaboles wercum and wordum, Thunær ende Woden ende Saxnote ende allum them unholdum the hira genotas sint." "I forsake all devil's works and words, and Thuner and Woden and Saxnot and all the monsters who are their companions."

In Scandinavia he seems to have received, in Viking days, supreme honors; but, as we shall presently see, Thor was the real god of the Northmen. Still, in the famous temple at Upsala in Sweden, described by Adam of Bremen, Odin was represented by an image "like to Mars"—that is to say, fully armed. He it was who received the soul of the warrior in the new-fashioned heaven of Viking Scandinavia, Walhalla; and to him the men of war everywhere—and war was everywhere—put up their prayers and in stress of battle offered service, child, or proper life. By the *Interpretatio Romana* he was called Mercury.

To Thunor, as the Anglo-Saxon called him, the Thor of the Scandinaviau peasant, there must have belonged a widespread Germanic cult. . . . He was called Jupiter by the Romans, and that not solely, we may imagine, on account of his thunderbolts. . . . Additional testimony to Thor's or Thunor's importance is the fact that the arch-fiend of Christian times, the devil himself, takes the place of the old thunder-god. In Scandinavia men made most solemn oaths in calling upon Thor, and they celebrated his feast at the sacred time of Yule. As god of the home and all that belongs to it, he was worshiped first and foremost of the deities. They prayed to him for a mild winter, an early spring, and generous crops; his first thunderings heralded return of warmth and vegetation. As late as the eighteenth century a Scandinavian woman was known to pray regularly to Thor; and the Anglo-Saxon homilies bear witness to the stubbornness of Thunor's cult on English soil.

Thor's thunder, audible sign that he and his hammer were fighting ice-giants and obstinate spirits of the northern hills, was regarded as more a benefit than a terror. It symbolized fertility; and we find several plants named after the thunder. . . . Of trees, the oak was dedicated to the thunder-god—a bold and not ignoble piece of religious invention. His day was Thursday, still in every regard a lucky day; in Scandinavia the traditional day for a wedding, and of good right, if we consider that it was Thor's hammer which "hallowed" every bride.

Almost alone of Scandinavian gods, Thor found lasting representation in a rude picture carved on stock and stone, even on ships—"a long-bearded face, with the hammer hung beneath"; while his

actual image was adorned with gold and silver, and set up in the holy places. . . . Viking belief assigned the souls of dead warriors to Odin, while "Thor has the thralls";—yet not as god of the thralls did he take them, but rather because the servants were part and parcel of the household.

The god whose old Germanic and Gothic name must have been Tîus, Old High German Zio, Scandinavian Tyr, but in English was known as Tîw, was once worshiped as the heaven-god, but seems to have been the war-god as well. . . . Tacitus tells us that human sacrifices were offered to Mercury and Mars—that is, to Woden and to Tius; and similar offerings to a war-god are related by the historian Procopius. The sword-dance described above was doubtless in honor of this god, and Grimm connects with him the worship of swords recorded by old historians. . . . His day, Tuesday, has a few superstitions connected with it which point to older cult; for instance, it must be on the Tuesday that the plant is gathered which warriors use for crown. . . .

Another hypostasis of Tius, and more interesting to us, is Saxnéat or Saxnôt, "the sword-companion" or brother in arms, who figures above as one of the gods to be abjured in the Old German renunciation, and is undoubtedly Tius under another name. . . .

Another god is called in Scandinavian myths Freyr. He is interesting to us as the probable god whose worship was most popular among our coast-dwelling ancestors by the German Ocean. In the opinion of certain scholars, Freyr and Béowulf, the hero of our old epic, are one and the same god, and with Scandinavian Freyja and Niörthr represented a brother and a sister who were worshiped by the Ingævonic race as far back as the time of Tacitus. The female was then known, in Roman transliteration, as Nerthus, and her cult is described by the historian. In this worship were bound together Reudigni, Avoines, Anglii, Varini, Eudoses, Suardones, Nuithones—all of them tribes which lived in Schleswig, Holstein, and about Elbe mouth. Nerthus, explains Tacitus, is Mother Earth, and these people "believe that she enters into human affairs, and travels about among the people. In an island of the ocean there is a sacred grove, and in it a holy chariot covered with a cloth. Only the priest is allowed to touch it. He knows when the goddess is present in her consecrated place, and in all reverence accompanies her as she is drawn about by cows. These are joyful times and places which the goddess honors with her presence, and her visit makes holiday. People begin no war, do not take up arms; all weapons are put away; peace and quiet only are then known and welcome, until the priest leads back to her holy place the goddess, now wearied of mortal fellowship. Then the wagon, the covering-cloths, and—if one cares to believe it—the divinity herself, are washed in a hidden lake. These services are performed by slaves whom the same lake presently swallows up. Hence spring the secret terror and sacred ignorance about something which is seen by those alone who are doomed to immediate death." . . .

In Sweden, Freyr was a very prominent god, and his image stood beside the images of Thor and Odin. Freyr, like the older Nerthus, had a chariot which was drawn about the countryside every spring, while the glad people worshiped and made holiday. In the chariot was a young and beautiful priestess, answering to the priest who went about with the wagon of Nerthus. Here, too, was a time of piece; and Freyr was asked to give rain and sunshine, fertile soil, and a prosperous year. He presided over marriages; and Adam of Bremen speaks of his image as a god of fecundity. The boar was sacred to him, and was not only sacrificed to him, but is said to have drawn his wagon; while even in recent times, Swedish folk were wont to bake cakes in the shape of a boar, remnants of the old Freyr-offering. As the military spirit waxed with conquest, the peaceful emblem served as warlike decoration; Anglo-Saxon warriors wore the boar upon their helmets; and the boar's head, upon which Scandinavian warriors took oath, is known in the Christmas feasts of England. . . .

Petersen gives a few Scandinavian proper names which were compounded with the name of Freyr. This, itself, means simply "prince," "lord," "master," and is familiar to us in its feminine form as the German "Frau." Freyr and Freyja are simply "the lord" and "the lady"; they could appear under different names, as in Anglo-Saxon the god Ing, mentioned by a poem known as the "Rune Lay," and evidently the ancestral god of the Ingævonic race, is undoubtedly none other than Freyr. . . .

In all Norse cult, Freyja is abundantly worshiped, and in close relation to the cult of Freyr. She gave them fertility, peace and happy wedlock. Boar and ox were sacrificed to her; she has, like Nerthus, the chariot of highest divinity. . . . The cat was sacred to her; a happy recognition of her manifold connection with household blessings, and not, perhaps, without influence on the later belief about witches. . . . Lovers prayed to Freyja, and for the purposes of cult, as well as by the traditions of mythology, she is in every way Germanic goddess of love. . . .

J. M. Kemble has found relics of Fricg cult in England; and they have been noted in Lower Saxony.—*F. B. Gummere, "Germanic Origins," pp. 416-439.*

**The Cult Among Teutonic Peoples.**—Islands seem to have been favorite places for the purposes of a cult; and, as we have just seen, all of Helgoland was given up to such a use. Still, groves were the best-loved temples. The house of gods, like the house of men, could be built about a tree; and we cannot altogether reject the romantic reason, added by Jacob Grimm, that something oracular and divine attracted the early worshiper in the swaying of branches and the low murmur of the leaves. . . .

This heathen temple of Scandinavia seems to have been a rectangular building, rounded at one end, after the manner of an apse or choir in certain Christian churches, and running from west to east. . . . In the "apse" were set up the images, such as there were; and before them was a sort of altar covered with iron, whereupon burned a fire that durst not be extinguished — "the sacred fire." Here lay the ring, dipped by the priest in sacrificial blood, and upon which all oaths were sworn; but when the chieftain presided at popular meetings, he wore this ring upon his hand. On this altar, moreover, stood the vessel which held the blood of sacrifice. No one was allowed to carry arms within the temple. . . .

In Iceland and the Norse realm generally we find regular images of the gods. Adam of Bremen distinctly testifies to the three images at Upsala in Sweden—Odin, Thor and Freyr (Fricco); Odin as a warrior in mail, Thor, with sceptre, holding the middle place as greatest god, Freyr with the customary phallic symbols of fecundity and peace. . . .

Priests were a Germanic institution known in all the tribes; but it is better not to lay too much stress upon a priesthood. . . . In heathen Scandinavia it is a positive principle that all details of worship are closely connected with the administration of affairs in general, and testify to a union of church and state. The king is high priest; and where a "jarl" acts as viceroy, he performs the king's duty at sacrifice and banquet. In Iceland the judicial districts were each under control of an officer who was at once judge and priest; and Maurer seems to assume that this custom was common to all German races. The place of justice, of oath and trial and lawsuit, was the place of prayer and sacrifice. It was also, in all probability, a place of trade, as is proved by the history of many a holy resort which develops into a center of trade, the capital city of the land. Trade and justice demand peace; and peace was only possible under the awful sanctions of a present god. . .

Striking is the costume of the Cimbrian sibyls—gray-haired women dressed in white, with red over-garment and metallic girdle, but bare of foot. They cut the throats of the captives, and let the blood flow into a brazen kettle—evidently priestly functions; while the wise-woman, of whom much has already been said, was doubtless held in reverence little inferior to that felt towards the priests themselves . . .

Undoubtedly, however, sacrifice was the central fact, and Grimm remarks that many of the words used for prayer go back to the notion of an offering. . . . Religion was ceremonial and a bargain: the gods were not thought to give blessings *pour les beaux yeux* of their worshipers. . . .

The favorite animal for sacrifice seems to have been the horse, though ox, boar and ram were often used; and the cock must have played a brave part. Color was of great importance, and the male sex was alone accepted. White horses, white cattle were special favorites; and a host of cases could be cited where folk-lore has preserved this prejudice for the white. On the other hand, black animals—without speck of other color—were also chosen for sacrifice, and in witchcraft, residuary legatee of much old sacrifice-lore, black cats, cocks, and so on are particularly popular. But the horse was prime favorite for sacrifice. In the famous passage of Tacitus which describes a battle between two German tribes for the possession of a salt-spring, we are told that the victors "had dedicated their opponents to Mars and Mercury; and in accordance with this vow, horses, men, all that the conquered possessed, were given to destruction." Here we have a sacrifice in the grand style, while "horses and men" has the true nomadic ring. A valued article of food, the horse must be a gracious offering to the gods, and was held as sacred among the Germans as it had been among the inhabitants of ancient Persia . . . A more agreeable form of this cult, however, was the sacrificial banquet, a highly popular festivity; as result, the eating of horse-flesh was a sign of heathendom, and remains taboo down to the present. Heathen Swedes were called "horse-eaters" by their converted brethren. Heads of horses and other sacrificial beasts, often the hides as well, were hung on trees as an offering to the gods.

But it was not only horses that figured in the Tacitean account; men were included, as they were in all highly important sacrificial rites. . . . The Germans appear in history with sufficiently marked love of human sacrifice—witness the Cimbrians in Italy, the wholesale sacrifices among warring German tribes, and the direct testimony of Tacitus, who gives us specific cases and a general summary. . . . A chain of evidence reaches from Tacitus down to the borders of the middle ages. . . .

However, on occasion, "the dearest" could mean more than any of these things. In times of great distress, private or general, in sickness, danger, famine, pestilence, the alarm might rise to a point where no alien sacrifice could measure the height of calamity, and some "dearest" thing of family or race must be offered to the god. Dearest of the dearest was the king. In olden times the sacrifice of the first-born seems to have been more or less common; and survivals meet us in Scandinavian legend, where the old ferocity lingered longest. . . .

The usual human sacrifice, however, was of captives, criminals, or slaves. The slaves who are employed about the grove of Nerthus, Tacitus reminds us, are drowned in the lake; and the Roman's reason of secrecy is quite fanciful. . . . The execution of a criminal was originally a sacrifice to the god whose peculiar cult had been offended by the crime in question. . . .

Everywhere survivals meet us based on the notion that a human life must be sacrificed at the beginning of any important piece of work. . . . The Vikings of Scandinavia, when they launched a new ship, would bind a victim to the "rollers" on which the vessel slipped into the sea, and thus redden the keel with sacrificial blood. That the doctrine of souls and manes-cult generally played its part in many of these rites, is quite beyond question. . . .

A gingerbread horse, eaten at a given time, replaces the sacrifice; and even the harmless bottle of champagne broken over the bow of a new-launched ship is not without relation to that victim once bound to the rollers of a Viking launch.

Some account of the details of human sacrifice is preserved to us from Scandinavian heathendom. Ari, born in 1067, was as near to the old Scandinavian rites as Beda was to the Anglo-Saxon—about seventy years from the arrival of the first Christian missionary. The altar, he tells us, was of stone, and had to be kept red and gleaming with sacrificial blood. "There is still to be seen the doom-ring wherein men were doomed to sacrifice. Inside the ring stands Thor's stone whereon those men who were kept for the sacrifice had their backs broken, and the blood is still to be seen in the stone." The blood was caught in kettles, and in old times may have been mixed with the beer or other drink of the assembly; sometimes it was baked in bread or cakes. . . .

Casting lots was an appeal to the gods, and was carried into the daily round of life, being as applicable to the merest domestic details as to the greater problems.—*Ibid, pp. 440-466.*

**Key to Picture of the Underworld.**—On the throne sit Persephone and Pluto. Beneath them stands Hercules with the dog Kerberos. On his right a woman rides on a hippokampe; on his left stands Hermes. At the top of the right-hand side appear the trio Pelops, Myrtilos, and Hippodameia. Below them come another trio, Triptolemos, Aiakos, and Rhadamanthus. Below these again come the three Danaides. At the top of the left-hand side Megara addresses the two Heraklidae. Below them appear Orpheus with his harp, and two Erinyes Finally at the bottom left Sisyphos rolls up his stone, lashed on by a Fate above him.

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